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Committee on Publication:

J. FRANKLIN JAMESON, AMASA M. EATON,
AMOS PERRY.

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OFFICERS
OF THE
RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

ELECTED JAN. 10, 1899.

President.

JOHN H. STINESS.

Vice-Presidents.

JOHN NICHOLAS BROWN,

WILLIAM AMES.

Secretary.

AMOS PERRY.

Treasurer.

RICHMOND P. EVERETT.

Librarian and Cabinet-Keeper.

AMOS PERRY.

STANDING COMMITTEES.

Nominating Committee.

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EDWARD I. NICKERSON,

THEODORE F. GREEN.

Library Committee.

WILLIAM D. ELY,

AMOS PERRY,

HENRY R. CHACE.

Lecture Committee.

AMOS PERRY, REUBEN A. GUILD,
WILLIAM B. WEEDEN.

Publication Committee.

J. FRANKLIN JAMESON, AMASA M. EATON,
AMOS PERRY.

Committee on Grounds and Buildings.

ISAAC H. SOUTHWICK, JR., EDWIN BARROWS,
NORMAN M. ISHAM.

Committee on Genealogical Researches.

JOHN O. AUSTIN, GEORGE T. HART,
FRED A. ARNOLD,

Committee on Necrology.

WILFRED H. MUNRO, AMOS PERRY,
ROBERT GRIEVE.

Finance Committee.

ROBERT H. I. GODDARD, CHARLES H. SMITH,
RICHMOND P. EVERETT.

Audit Committee.

LEWIS J. CHACE, JAMES BURDICK,
FERDINAND A. LINCOLN.

Procurators.

For Newport,	GEORGE GORDON KING.
Woonsocket,	LATIMER W. BALLOU.
Pawtucket,	SAMUEL M. CONANT.
North Kingstown,	DAVID S. BAKER.
Hopkinton,	GEORGE H. OLNEY.
Gloicester,	ALBERT POTTER.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

1898-99.

At a meeting held January 25th, 1898, Capt. Nathan Appleton, of Boston, read a paper entitled, "The American Inter-oceanic Canal and its Relations to the Future of the Pacific Ocean."

February 8th, 1898, Thomas Hamilton Murray, editor of the *Pawtucket Tribune*, read a paper entitled, "Some Irish Rhode Islanders in the Revolution."

March 8th, 1898, Hon. Nathan W. Littlefield gave an illustrated lecture entitled, "London and the Fathers of the Pilgrim Church."

March 22d, 1898, Hon. John S. Brayton, LL. D., read a paper entitled, "Some Facts in the History of Tiverton and Little Compton."

The first quarterly meeting of 1898 was held April 5th. The librarian presented his quarterly report. The secretary reported the receipt of a letter from William B. Weeden declining to accept the office of vice-president, and one from the Rhode Island Society of Sons of the American Revolution, thanking

the society for the privilege of holding their meetings in this cabinet.

On recommendation of Mr. Albert V. Jencks, chairman of the nominating committee, the following-named persons were elected active members: Charles William Bowen, William Richmond Tillinghast, William Cotter Baker, Charles Horace Beach, Herbert Ambrose Rice, Moses Homan Bixby, all of Providence; and Clarence Eugene Peirce, of Pawtucket, R. I.; Miss Mary Rivers, of Milton, Mass.; Walter Douglas Harris, of Olneyville, R. I.; and William Thomas Church Wardwell, of Bristol, R. I.

The library committee reported progress in the work under its supervision.

On motion, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:—

Resolved, That the thanks of the society be and are hereby presented to Charles W. Hopkins for an elaborate and carefully prepared copy of the 1st, 2d and 3d divisions of vacant lands west of the town of East Greenwich in this colony, now constituting the towns of West Greenwich and Exeter.

Resolved, That the thanks of the society be and are hereby tendered to its senior Honorary Member, the Hon. William L. Stone, of Mt. Vernon, N. Y., for "The Records of New Amsterdam from 1653 to 1674," consisting of seven octavo volumes, published under a commission appointed by the Mayor of New York City, of which Mr. Stone was a member.

Resolved, That the thanks of the society be tendered to Miss Maria L. Padelford for the gift of an admirable portrait of her father, the late Seth Padelford, governor of this State, 1869-1873.

Resolved, That the thanks of this society be presented to the Hon. John S. Brayton, LL. D., for the gift of seven original

historical documents relating to the early history of a part of our State, and

Resolved, That a copy of his late address embodying the substance of these papers be solicited to be printed at the earliest practicable moment.

A member of the finance committee (Mr. Charles H. Smith), offered by proxy the following resolutions :—

Resolved, That all the funds of this society, either at present or hereafter, not otherwise specified by the donors, be and they are hereby designated and to be known as "The Permanent Maintenance Fund." That the income and interest therefrom only shall be expended by the society together with its usual income from taxes, subscriptions, etc.

Resolved, That this resolution shall not be cancelled or amended except at the annual meeting of which due notice shall have been given that such change is proposed and then such change must have a vote of at least nine-tenths ($\frac{9}{10}$) of all the members present.

After some discussion it was voted :—

That the resolutions be referred to a committee consisting of Messrs. Rogers, Eaton and Everett, to report to the society a by-law to secure the object of the resolutions.

The following resolution was unanimously adopted :—

Resolved, That the treasurer be and is hereby authorized to pay such bills out of the Dr. Charles W. Parsons' Improvement Fund as are incurred for improvements in or on the society's building, the said bills to be audited by the committee on grounds and buildings, and the amount not to exceed one hundred dollars (\$100).

Mr. Theodore F. Green introduced a resolution having for its object the preservation of the newspapers in the cabinet. After discussion and amendment it was voted :—

That the librarian be and is hereby authorized and instructed

to exercise strict supervision over persons who are permitted to consult newspapers, manuscripts and other valuable historic material, to the end that the society's valuable collections be neither injured, displaced nor misappropriated.

Resolved, That all of the society's books and pamphlets, catalogued, have upon them the society's stamp.

On motion of John Nicholas Brown, Esq., the following resolutions were unanimously adopted :—

Whereas, The Honorable the Secretary of the Navy has named some of the vessels recently bought by the government, after officers and ships that were distinguished in the history of the American Navy and after Indian tribes and chiefs ;

Resolved, That the Rhode Island Historical Society respectfully suggests to the Honorable Secretary, the names of Whipple and Perry, officers, who by their heroic actions have made glorious the American fleet ;

Resolved, That the secretary of the society be requested to forward a copy of this resolution forthwith to Secretary Long.

The second quarterly meeting of the year was held July 5th. The secretary read the record of the last quarterly meeting. The librarian gave his quarterly report. The secretary laid before the society two communications ; one of which was from the Hon. John D. Long, Secretary of the Navy, acknowledging the receipt of the society's communication about the names of our national warships ; the other was from Mr. John O. Austin, asking that his resignation be accepted as a member of two committees of the society.

On recommendation of the nominating committee the following-named persons were elected active members : Francis Augustus Cranston, of Providence ; Frederick Jerome Hoxie, of Phenix, R. I. ; and John Henry Cashman, of Johnston, R. I.

Corresponding member, George Henry Greene, of Lansing, Michigan.

The Hon. Asa Bird Gardiner, LL. D., then read a highly interesting paper on "The Havana Expedition in the War with Spain of 1762." After passing a vote of thanks and requesting a copy of Dr. Gardiner's paper, the meeting was adjourned.

The third quarterly meeting of the society was held October 5th. The secretary read the record of the July quarterly meeting, and the librarian presented his quarterly report. The secretary laid before the society a letter from Mr. George Henry Greene, of Lansing, Michigan, thanking the society for the honor of his election as a corresponding member.

On recommendation of the nominating committee the following-named persons were elected active members: Keyes Danforth Brown and Charles Hutchins Sprague, of Providence; and George Adelbert Perry, of New York City.

Honorary member, James Phinney Baxter, Portland, Maine.

Corresponding member, Henry Sweetser Burrage, Portland, Maine.

On announcement by the chairman that new business was in order, Prof. Jameson proposed for the action of the society, at the next annual meeting, the following resolution:—

Resolved, That from and after the first of January, 1901, the annual tax shall be five dollars (\$5.00).

Mr. George T. Paine proposed the following by-law to be acted upon at the next annual meeting:—

Resolved, That there shall be annually elected a committee to be called the Nominating Committee. They shall prepare and, at the annual meeting, put in nomination a list of persons whom they deem to be most suitable for the officers and members of the standing committees of the society. No member of this committee shall be eligible for reelection at the expiration of his term.

The following resolution was offered by Mr. George T. Paine :—

Resolved, That a committee of three shall be appointed by the president, and their names announced at the next meeting for the reading of papers, which committee shall, at the annual meeting in January, report the names of members who, in their opinion, are best suited to fill the offices and committees of the society.

On motion of Prof. Jameson, this resolution was amended by adding the words, "excepting the president, vice-presidents, secretary, treasurer, and librarian and cabinet-keeper," and the resolution thus amended was passed.

The secretary called attention to Slate Rock as a subject of special interest in Rhode Island history. Attention was called to an admirable landscape representing Slate Rock and the surrounding scenery as they were half a century ago. This picture, the work of the accomplished artist, Mr. George W. Whitaker, and drawings and sketches by other artists were examined and discussed until the meeting was adjourned.

October 18th, 1898, Hon. Henry L. Greene read a paper entitled, "Historical Sketch of the Greene-Street School in Providence and of its Teachers, among whom was Margaret Fuller, afterwards Machioness d'Ossoli."

November 1st, 1898, Miss Ellen D. Larned, the Historian of Windham County, Conn., read a paper entitled, "Old-time Militia Service," illustrated by costumes and accoutrements of a past age.

November 15th, 1898, a meeting was held to hear addresses on "The History and Objects of Our Public Schools." Addresses were made by Hon. Benjamin N. Lapham and five members of the society.

November 29th, 1898, William A. Mowry, Ph. D., gave a

lecture on "The Slave Power and the Free States." At the close of the lecture the president appointed, in accordance with a vote of the society at the October quarterly meeting, the following-named members a committee to nominate, at the next annual meeting, members of standing committees: George T. Paine, Wilfred H. Munro and Asa Messer Gammell. Mr. Paine declining to serve on that committee, Prof. Jameson was nominated in his place.

December 13th, 1898, Andrew McFarland Davis, A. M., read a paper entitled, "The Colonial Currency of Rhode Island and its Contributory Effect upon the Premium of Silver prior to 1750."

The 77th annual meeting of the society was held January 10th, 1899.

The secretary read the record of the October quarterly meeting and of five subsequent meetings.

The librarian read his annual report.

On motion of the nominating committee the following-named persons were elected active members: Mary Fessenden Washburn, Prof. Hammond Lamont, William Randall Angell, John Dower Davis, Richard W. Smith, George Appleton Stockwell, Thomas Blanchard Stockwell and William Tinkham, all of Providence; and Arlon Mowry, of North Smithfield, R. I.

Corresponding member, William Copley Winslow, D. D., LL. D., of Boston.

The president gave his annual address.

The treasurer made his annual report.

The committee on grounds and buildings made their annual report.

The library committee made their annual report.

The lecture committee made their annual report.

The publication committee made their annual report.

The committee on genealogical researches made their annual report.

Officers and members of the standing committees were elected as shown upon pages 3 and 4.

The committee consisting of Messrs. Rogers, Eaton and Everett, to whom certain resolutions were referred that were presented at the April quarterly meeting 1898, looking to the use for current expenses of the income only of this society, recommended the adoption of the following as a by-law of the society:—

“The principal of all funds, and all donations (unless otherwise directed by the donors) shall be invested by the finance committee as permanent funds, and shall be held in charge by them. Only the interest thereof, which may be drawn by the treasurer, shall be used to meet expenses.”

The following resolutions offered by Prof. Jameson were adopted:—

Whereas, The removal of the State archives to the new Capitol will give opportunity, for the first time in many years, for the orderly and scientific arrangement of these invaluable historical treasures; and

Whereas, Such removal cannot take place without danger of loss unless beforehand an inventory of the archives be taken in their present situation:

Resolved, That the attention of His Excellency the Governor be called to this opportunity and need, and that he be respectfully requested to make, in his annual message to the General Assembly, such recommendations upon the subject as may seem to him appropriate.

On motion of Mr. Isaac H. Southwick, Jr., it was

Resolved, That the thanks of the society be and are hereby presented to the following-named donors: Nelson W. Aldrich, David S. Baker, Harold Brown, John Nicholas Brown, R. I. Gammell, R. H. I. Goddard, William Goddard, William Grosvenor, Rowland Hazard, G. W. R. Matteson, Charles H. Smith, John H. Stiness, Royal C. Taft, William B. Weeden and George Peabody Wetmore.

On motion of Mr. Lewis H. Meader, it was

Resolved, That the thanks of the society be and are hereby presented to Messrs. Isaac C. Bates and Henry R. Chace for the gift of the valuable collection of Channing letters and autographs mentioned in the librarian's report.

Resolved, That the treasurer be and is hereby authorized to pay such bills out of the Dr. Charles W. Parsons' Improvement Fund as are incurred for improvements in or on the society's building, the said bills to be audited by the committee on grounds and buildings and the amount not to exceed one hundred dollars (\$100).

Prof. Jameson's resolution to raise the annual tax, after being discussed, was referred to a committee of three to be appointed by the president and to report at the April quarterly meeting. The committee was appointed as follows: Prof. J. Franklin Jameson, Mr. George P. Winship and Mr. Richmond P. Everett.

The amendment proposed by Mr. Paine was referred to the April quarterly meeting.

At each of the meetings held during the year for the reading of papers, the thanks of the society were voted to the lecturer of the evening. At the annual meeting the address of the president and the reports of the officers and committees were referred to the library committee.

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT.

Gentlemen of the Historical Society:—

The national events of the year have been of such a startling and important nature as to absorb interest and overshadow common affairs. We little thought, at our last annual meeting, that within six months war would be declared and ended, Cuba freed, Spain's navy destroyed and her islands in the Atlantic and Pacific under the control of the United States. Had any one at that time ventured such a prediction he would have been smiled at as a wildly patriotic, but over-sanguine man. And yet, all this has happened, so marvellously as to make it appear to be providential, and with such a sense of consequent responsibility that in place of jubilation there has been a subdued questioning, "What shall we do?"

In the quiet days of our youth, when we read in history of great events, of civil wars, of the overthrow of thrones, of conflicts between nations, of wonderful victories and sad defeats, of independence won, of the growth of new governments, of marvellous inventions and of changes too many to be recalled, we doubtless thought how it would have stirred us to have lived in such times as those; how inspiring it must have been to have seen those things at the time and to have been a part of them, instead of looking back upon them. And yet, I venture to say that there has been no half-century in modern times so full of great events, in which so much history has been written, affecting the fate of nations and of men, as in the last fifty years through which we have passed. Changes have come so thick and fast that one has crowded another out of thought and we have almost ceased to wonder at stupendous things.

It is needless to detain you now by referring to these matters in detail. They will readily occur to you, and the more appropriate time to review them will be two years hence when the record of the nineteenth century will have been closed. I refer to them now simply to call attention to the fact that, in the presence of far-reaching and exciting deeds, the less important chronicle of local affairs will, no doubt, seem to be small and dull. Still the things around us touch us most closely, and we cannot lose sight of them in looking for larger things beyond.

One of the most stirring events of the past year was the raising of our troops to take part in the war with Spain. For army and navy, from all classes, the lawyer from his office, the student from the college, the farmer from the field, the mechanic, clerk and tradesman, the son of luxury and the man of toil, all offered themselves in a common service at their country's call. To those who remembered the days of the Civil War it was gratifying to see that in the present generation there is no decline in the loyalty and devotion which was shown in 1861. The republic will not lack for defenders in any time of need. With no large standing army, and without the stress of impressment, from all walks of life, there will come an ample body of intelligent soldiers, who will be doubly powerful from the fact that the strength of an army is in "the men behind the guns."

A noteworthy incident connected with our regiment of infantry was the presentation to it of a stand of rich and elegantly wrought colors, by our vice-president, General William Ames, with an earnest and appropriate address. Although, on account of the speedy termination of the war, the colors will bear no stain or scar of battle, the soldiers of the regiment, and also those of the two batteries and the men of the naval reserves, are none the less entitled to full credit for courage and patriotism. They showed their readiness to do and dare in responding to the call, and it was not their fault, nor for their unworthiness, that they were not assigned to active duty. They have served their country in its time of need, for, "They also serve who only stand and wait."

In connection with the Spanish War it is interesting to note a repetition of history, which was brought before us, at our last July meeting, in a paper on "The Havana Expedition of 1762," by the Hon. Asa Bird Gardiner, LL. D., L. H. D., District Attorney of New York.

During the nine years' war between England and Spain, 1739-1748, a fleet was sent over, under Vice-Admiral Vernon, in 1741, to attack Santiago — then called St. Iago. There was so much sickness among the troops from the nature of the soil, vegetation and climate, and the difficulties at the mouth of the harbor were so great, that the fleet could not coöperate and the siege had to be abandoned. Here we find a repetition of recent experience, except in the result.

In 1762 there was war again between the two powers, and this time the expedition was against Havana. In this, as in the previous expedition, the colonies were called upon for troops, and to each Rhode Island contributed two companies, numbering about two hundred men. As in the recent war, the troops landed within easy distance, mounted the heights and made their attack. They suffered greatly from lack of water, roads had to be cut through thick, tropical woods, men fell from heat, thirst and fatigue, batteries were raised against the Morro, the army and navy coöperated, but yellow fever, hard service, an unwholesome country, bad provisions, bad and insufficient water, exposure and heat, reduced the army by half. But reinforcements came, the Morro was taken and Havana capitulated. The success of the effort was due to the sturdiness of the provincial troops. It seems as if we were reading the account of the last few months instead of the records of one hundred and fifty years ago.

The recent struggle suggests the thought of the grave problems which are now before the country in regard to the conquered territory. The question of the justification of the war has passed into history. The war has been waged and is ended. Begun to help oppressed humanity and to remove a menace and a nuisance near our shores, it has been broadened to an unexpected and imperial extent. As Edward Everett Hale has said, "A hundred days have pushed us forward a hundred

years." The question now is, "What are we to do?" We have had Alaska more than thirty years and have done practically nothing for it. We have no right to take land and people simply for commercial profit, and the serious task before us is how to give them the stable benefits of free government, civilization, education and Christianity. They are on our hands and we cannot cast them off. Important pages of history will be written in the next few years, and it behooves us to labor and to pray that our nation may be guided with wisdom, justice and benevolence. Our people will never disapprove a course which tends to uplift oppressed and suffering fellow-men.

Among the acquisitions of the year is an original copy of "A Key into the Language of America," &c., by Roger Williams, London, 1643, the gift of several of our members. Of all the places where such a copy might be expected to be found, surely the cabinet of this society is one. That book may be called the corner-stone of our government, for to it the colony was indebted for its original charter. Massachusetts was striving for our Plantations, and claimed to have secured a charter prior to ours by a few weeks, and covering the same territory by the same boundaries which were in our charter. How then came Williams to secure and maintain our charter? Twelve members of Parliament answer, in their letter "To the Right Worshipful the Governor and Assistants and the rest of our worthy friends in the Plantation of Massachusetts Bay."

"Taking notice, some of us, of long time, of Mr. Roger Williams, his good affections and conscience, and of his sufferings by our common enemy and oppressor of God's people, the prelates, as also of his great industry and travels *in his printed Indian labors in your parts (the like whereof we have not seen extant from any part of America)*, and in which respect it hath pleased both Houses of Parliament to grant unto him, and friends with him, a free and absolute charter of civil government."

A full copy of this letter is printed in "R. I. Colonial Records," vol. 1, p. 290, under marginal date of 1654, and is headed, "Order to Massachusetts from the Lord Protector's

Council, relating to Roger Williams and Providence Charter."

As the letter was written and used for the purpose of securing to Williams safe passage through Massachusetts on his return with our first charter in 1644, the marginal date is clearly wrong; and as Cromwell was not made Lord Protector until December, 1653, the heading is evidently an anachronism.

The zeal of Williams, then, in learning the language of the natives, his labor and skill in putting into print for the use of others, so impressed the men in power in England that the creation of this colony was the result. Surely that book should be treasured and honored here as the very foundation of the State. To the gentlemen who made it possible to secure this book I tender, in behalf of this society, sincere thanks. It so happened that, during the negotiation for the book, a presentation copy, with the autograph of Williams, was advertised for sale at auction in London. After advice, through a friend, from an expert in London, who acts as agent in such purchases, I ventured to cable a bid, supposed to be more than enough to secure the coveted copy, but it sold for eleven pounds above our offer. It is a great pleasure, indeed a duty, to have obtained the copy we have; but if we could have got the presentation copy, we would have had cause for even greater congratulation.

Here let me say that a society like this is always in need of a fund to enable it to take advantage of a chance to get such rare books, and usually there is no time to go around for a subscription. A cabinet like this should be a place for historical study. To make it so the material must be at hand. Our aim should not be to collect books simply because they are rare, but because they are useful. Many rare books, too costly to buy, are reprinted and these, in most cases, will answer a student's purpose. Of course, the ideal thing would be to have a collection of our local books in their original form. But, lacking these, we at least should have that which takes the place of the original. In this respect our library needs strengthening. In addition to the case of the "Key," let me give another illustration of the benefit of such a fund for extraordinary occasions. An unusual sale of Americana is to take place in Boston in the

spring. Doubtless there will be many books in it which will be most valuable and useful for our uses here. One who is interested in the progress of this society cannot but yearn for the ability to secure things which we ought to have. It is to be hoped that we may not be unable to do so.

You are aware that the General Assembly has recently created the office of State Record Commissioner. At the last January session he presented his first annual report. He finds over thirty volumes of early records in the towns, which include all sorts of entries, land, probate and town council records, as well as births, marriages, deaths and other matters. He is also looking up records of churches, which contain much that is valuable. The crowded condition of the State House has prevented an examination of the papers which have been accumulating there for two hundred and fifty years. This work cannot be done until they can be removed to the new State House and it should then be done thoroughly. No one can tell what material may be brought to light when there is a chance to get at it. It will be a great task; it should be done by competent persons and it may be well for this society to consider whether it can render any aid in doing it. If so, it will certainly be work within its sphere. I commend the report of the commissioner to your attention.

Among the books brought out during the year are some of much historic value. "The Life of Esek Hopkins," by Edward Field, a member of this society, is one that is worthy of special attention. The brother of Stephen Hopkins, the first commander-in-chief of the American navy, and one who through life was a prominent man in the affairs of this colony and State, is certainly one whose life must be of peculiar interest. His connection with the navy is of the first importance and in this respect he has been most unfortunate. The first man in almost any enterprise seldom receives due honor at the time. He labors under difficulties. His task is to create; not to improve. He has no lamp of experience to light his path and can rely upon no trained helpers to carry out his plans. Great inventors seldom reap the fruits of their genius. So it was with Hopkins, and it is hardly to be wondered at

that he was slightly spoken of in earlier days. In my address last year, in speaking of Spears's "History of our Navy," in which the work of Hopkins was first adequately considered, I referred to his career somewhat at length and will not now repeat it. Had I known of this book at the time I need not have spoken in vindication of him at all. Mr. Field has made a most thorough examination of the subject; the facts which he produces are authentic and full, his reasoning persuasive and his conclusions just. Like Cromwell's portrait, he has painted him as he was, but the result does not detract from the merit to which a man of forceful nature, of high standard of honor and patriotism, of large public spirit, of heavy and untried responsibilities, is well entitled. Both Spears and Field agree in according credit to his efforts, and Mr. Field clearly shows that his lack of further success and his final dismissal from service, were due, not to lack of merit or achievement, but to local interests and sectional jealousies by which he was constantly hampered. Mr. Field's work is the most complete investigation which has yet been made into the career of one of our most important historical characters. The book is elegantly printed and I trust that it will receive the attention of all students of our State and national history.

It is a pleasure to state that a large part of the material for the book was drawn from the Hopkins Papers in this library. These papers consist of letters, orders and miscellaneous papers which have been deposited here and which have been preserved in three bound volumes, with a fourth volume consisting of copies of all papers relating to Hopkins in the national archives. These copies were procured by our associate, Mr. Richard S. Howland, and deposited here with the other papers.

Such a collection was indispensable to a complete life of Hopkins, and but for a society like this it probably would not have been in existence.

The "History of Barrington," by Thomas W. Bicknell, also a member of this society, has appeared during the year. It is a large volume of over 600 pages, finely executed, well indexed, and evidently the product of exhaustive research. It is taken

almost wholly from original sources and is one of the most complete town histories that has ever been brought out in this State. If the same thing could be done for the other towns, the task of a compiler of Rhode Island history down to the nineteenth century would be comparatively easy.

Another contribution to the literature of the Rebellion has recently been issued in the "History of the Fourteenth Regiment, R. I. H. A.," by William H. Chenery, an officer of the regiment. This book also is most attractive in form and complete in matter. It is embellished with pictures of many of the officers of the regiment, most of which were taken during their service, thus adding to their interest by showing them as they looked then.

A book has just been issued, entitled, "Under the Trade Winds," by Alfred M. Williams, late editor of the *Providence Journal*, consisting chiefly of letters written by him in his last journey, to the West Indies. These are preceded by a sketch of his busy life by Mr. Richard S. Howland, drawn in lines of merited esteem with a friendly hand.

Mr. Williams was so well known and filled such an important place among us that the book will, doubtless, find many readers.

A little book by Alice Morse Earle, "In Old Narragansett," is a collection of short stories relating to the colonial King's County, now Washington County. Some are based upon traditions and family records; others upon incidents outlined in Thomas R. Hazard's "Recollections of the Olden Time," and Updike's "History of the Narragansett Church." They are charmingly told and full of interest, although they do not purport to be historical, except as glimpses of the life and times of the Narragansett planters.

"Men and Movements in the English Church," by the Rev. Arthur Rogers, son of our ex-president, and one of our members, came as a delightful Christmas gift. While the matters of which it treats are foreign, they have become so familiar and have so affected religious faith and practice in our midst that they may be almost classed as local history. It gives sketches of the Oxford Movement, of men who promoted and opposed

it, together with a few of later date, acknowledged leaders in their time. The author brings before us men of diverse types and thoughts. So we find Newman, Pusey and Keble, Arnold, Robertson and Stanley within the same covers, but all portrayed with such an appreciative and sympathetic touch, as viewed from their own standpoints, that we see them, as otherwise we would hardly have thought, each striving for the common good of man, and each from his segment working towards the common centre, Christ and His Church. It is not the obscure blending of a composite photograph, for the individuality of each stands out in clear-cut lines. Though they stood opposed and one saw the golden and another the silver face of the shield, yet, with the light that he has thrown upon them, we can see that the shield was one, the shield of faith. The men were opponents in life, but the book does not seek to prove which was right and which was wrong. Showing each as he stood by nature or training and looking for the good in all, he weighs them with a fairness and impartiality as admirable as it is uncommon. It is a helpful book to read; in its description of the times and issues, in its generous discernment of motive and results, in its just estimate of sincerity and character. Choice in diction, elegant in style, clear in statement, full of light shed by apt selection from personal sources, it is a book for profit and enjoyment.

Another of our members, Mr. Norman M. Isham, has turned his attention to ancient times and published a book entitled, "The Homeric Palace." With patient study and perceptive skill he has reproduced, from descriptions and allusions, a picture of the stately homes of classic times. The book will be of interest to students of Greek and Roman literature.

In these references we see how many of our members have been engaged in historical research. It is a pleasure to point to the excellent result of their labors.

The receipts and expenditures and the routine of work have been so much like the record of preceding years that I shall not stop to mention them in detail. All the information that I could give you will be found in the several reports, which all who have the welfare of the society at heart will read, and

which those who do not will not care to hear. The only suggestion which I have to make in this connection is whether it would not be well to have the admission fees of new members set apart for some fund, instead of going into the general account for current expenses. If a new member pays more than the usual annual tax, it ought to be for some purpose, and it will add to the sentiment of admission when it is felt that the fee paid goes to a permanent fund.

The quarterly publication continues, with varied contents of interest and value. Many things come to light in this way which could not otherwise be published, and I trust that it meets with appreciation and approval.

The course of semi-monthly lectures has been maintained at its usual high standard of merit. The only regret it has occasioned is that larger numbers do not avail themselves of its privileges.

Eleven members have died during the year: Henry C. Armstrong, Joseph Banigan, Charles Bradley, Charles E. Carpenter, Daniel Day, Charles Gorton, Rowland Hazard, Christopher Lippitt, Stephen Nicholson, Rev. William P. Tucker, D. D., Henry W. Wilkinson.

This list includes men prominent in State and business affairs; men who have shown an active interest in this society and whose presence we shall greatly miss. Three corresponding members have died: Hon. John Winslow, Brooklyn, N. Y.; Rev. Solon Warton Bush, Boston, Mass.; Hon. James Tillinghast, Buffalo, N. Y. The latter was also a life member of the society.

So we are reminded that time is fleeting and that we should strive to leave as our record,—with kind heart and public spirit he did what he could for others and the world is better for his life.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER.

GENERAL ACCOUNT.

*Richmond P. Everett, Treasurer, in account with the Rhode Island
Historical Society.*

DR.

1899.		
Jan. 10.	Interest from Investments of Samuel M. Noyes, Henry J. Steere, John Wilson Smith, and William G. Weld,	\$1,207 05
	Taxes from 299 members,	897 00
	Fees from 19 new members,	95 00
	Interest from Life Membership Fund,	126 94
	Interest from Publication Fund,	126 00
	From Dr. C. W. Parsons Improvement Fund, as per vote, for Buildings and Grounds,	100 00
	From State of Rhode Island, appropriation for Publications,	131 30
	From State of Rhode Island, appropriation for Sundries,	12 20
	Sale of Publications and Advertising,	56 37
	With a view of enabling the Rhode Island Historical Society to classify, arrange and index its valuable historical manuscripts, we the sub- scribers agree to pay the sum of twenty-five dol- lars (\$25) in 1897, and the same in 1898, on con- dition that twelve or more such subscriptions be secured: William Ames, J. W. Danielson, Frank F. Olney, H. Conant, James Coats, Hen- ry G. Russell, F. W. Carpenter, Alfred Metcalf, Walter Callender, Rowland Hazard, Joseph Banigan, John Nicholas Brown, R. H. I. God- dard, Charles W. Lippitt,	350 00

Contributors for the purchase of Roger Williams'

Key: Charles H. Smith, \$22.50; John Nicholas Brown, \$22.50; William Goddard, \$22.50; Rowland Hazard, \$22.50; R. I. Gammell, \$22.50; Nelson W. Aldrich, \$22.50; George Peabody Wetmore, \$18.00; G. W. R. Matteson, 13.50; Royal C. Taft, \$9.00; William Grosvenor, \$9.00; William B. Weeden, \$9.00; David S. Baker, \$9.00; Harold Brown, \$9.00; R. H. I. Goddard, \$9.00; John H. Stiness, \$9.00, . \$229 50

Paid Dodd & Mead for Book, \$225 00

Cable Message, . . . 1 00

Express and Postage, . . . 80 \$226 80

Balance returned to Treasurer, . . . 2 70

\$3,104 56

CR.

1898.			
Jan. 11.	Treasurer for cash advanced,		\$5 04
1899.			
Jan. 10.	The expenses of the Library Committee		
	for 1898,	\$1633 78	
	From the State of Rhode Island		
	appropriation, . . .	1,356 50	277 28
	Salary of Librarian, . . .		1,200 00
	Janitor, . . .		360 00
	Publications, . . .		498 20
	Fuel and Gas, . . .		239 46
	Postage, meetings and express, . . .		313 30
	Buildings and Grounds, . . .		156 40
	Cash on hand, . . .		54 88
			<u>\$3,104 56</u>

Providence, Jan. 10, 1899.

We have examined the above account and find it correct.

JAMES BURDICK,

FERDINAND A. LINCOLN,

Audit Committee.

STATE OF RHODE ISLAND.

*Richmond P. Everett, Treasurer, in account with the Rhode Island
Historical Society.*

DR.

1899.							
Jan. 10.	Received in monthly payments of \$125 00 for the						
	year 1898,	.	.	.	.	.	\$1,500 00
							<u>\$1,500 00</u>

CR.

1899.							
Jan. 10.	Paid Library Committee,	.	.	.	.	.	\$1,356 50
	" for Publication,	.	.	.	.	.	131 30
	" " Sundries,	.	.	.	.	.	12 20
							<u>\$1,500 00</u>

GEORGE MOULTON CARPENTER MEMORIAL FUND.

DR.

1898.							
Jan. 12.	Cash on hand,	.	.	.	.	.	\$210 00
							<u>\$210 00</u>

CR.

1899.							
Jan. 10.	Cash on hand,	.	.	.	.	.	\$210 00
							<u>\$210 00</u>

Providence, Jan. 10, 1899.

We have examined the above accounts and find them correct.

JAMES BURDICK,
FERDINAND A. LINCOLN,
Audit Committee.

DR. CHARLES W. PARSONS IMPROVEMENT FUND.

*Richmond P. Everett, Treasurer, in account with the Rhode Island
Historical Society.*

DR.

1898.			
Jan. 10.	Cash on hand,	.	\$4,483 40
May 10.	Interest from City Savings Bank,	.	7 70
	Coupon from York River R. R.,	.	22 50
July 11.	Interest from Mortgage,	.	75 00
	16. Interest from City Savings Bank,	.	9 82
Nov. 1.	Coupon from York River R. R.,	.	22 50
			<hr/> \$4,620 92

CR.

1898.			
Dec. 19.	For Buildings and Grounds as per vote April 5,		
	1898,	.	\$ 100 00
	Balance of account,	.	4,520 92
			<hr/> \$4,620 92

Providence, Jan. 10, 1899.

We have examined the above account and find it correct.

JAMES BURDICK,
FERDINAND A. LINCOLN,
Audit Committee.

LIFE MEMBERSHIP FUND.

*Richmond P. Everett, Treasurer, in account with the Rhode Island
Historical Society.*

DR.

1898.		
Jan. 12.	Cash on hand,	\$3,143 76
Aug. 1.	Interest from Providence Savings Bank and Mechanics Savings Bank for January and July, 1898, carried to general account,	126 94
		\$3,270 70

CR.

1898.		
Aug. 1.	Interest from Providence Savings Bank and Mechanics Savings Bank for January and July, 1898,	\$ 126 94
1899.		
Jan. 10.	Cash on hand, balance of account,	3,143 76
		\$3,270 70

Providence, Jan. 10, 1899.

We have examined the above account and find it correct.

JAMES BURDICK,
FERDINAND A. LINCOLN,
Audit Committee.

PUBLICATION FUND.

*Richmond P. Everett, Treasurer, in account with the Rhode Island
Historical Society.*

DR.

1898.						
Jan. 12.	Cash on hand,	.	.	.	.	\$3,600 00
1899.						
Jan. 10.	Interest from Rhode Island Hospital Trust Co.,					
	May and November, 1898, carried to general					
	account,	.	.	.	.	126 00
						<u>\$3,726 00</u>

CR.

1898.						
Nov. 10.	Interest from Rhode Island Hospital Trust Co.,					
	May and November, 1898,	.	.	.	.	\$ 126 00
1899.						
Jan. 10.	Balance on hand,	.	.	.	.	3,600 00
						<u>\$3,726 00</u>

Providence, Jan. 10, 1899.

We have examined the above account and find it correct.

JAMES BURDICK,
FERDINAND A. LINCOLN,
Audit Committee.

INVESTMENT FUND, JAN. 10, 1899.

Legacy of Samuel M. Noyes,	\$12,000 00
" " Henry J. Steere,	10,000 00
" " John Wilson Smith,	1,000 00
" " William G. Weld,	1,000 00
Paid on Mortgage,	50 00

\$24,050 00

Invested as follows:

Mortgage secured by note,	\$5,100 00
" " " "	3,350 00
" " " "	3,000 00
" " " "	2,300 00
" " " "	1,750 00
" " " "	1,600 00
Rhode Island Hospital Trust Co.,	50 00
45 shares Blackstone Canal National Bank,	1,050 00
Six bonds Minneapolis Street Railway Co.,	5,850 00

\$24,050 00

PUBLICATION FUND.

Legacy of Ira B. Peck,	\$1,000 00
" " William Gammell,	1,000 00
" " Albert J. Jones,	1,000 00
" " Julia Bullock,	500 00
" " Charles H. Smith,	100 00

\$3,600 00

Deposited in the Rhode Island Hospital Trust Co., partici- pation account,	\$3,600 00
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Providence, Jan. 10, 1899.

We have examined the above account and find it correct.

JAMES BURDICK,
FERDINAND A. LINCOLN,
Audit Committee.

LIFE MEMBERSHIP FUND.

Providence Institution for Savings,	\$1,090 90
Mechanics Savings Bank,	2,052 86
	<hr/>
	\$3,143 76

DR. CHARLES W. PARSONS IMPROVEMENT FUND.

Invested as follows:

Mortgage secured by note,	\$3,000 00
Richmond, York River and Chesapeake R. R. bond, .	1,000 00
Cash in City Savings Bank,	520 92
	<hr/>
	\$4,520 92

GEORGE MOULTON CARPENTER MEMORIAL FUND.

Deposited in the Industrial Trust Co.,	\$210 00
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Providence, Jan. 10, 1899.

We have examined the above accounts and find them correct.

JAMES BURDICK,
FERDINAND A. LINCOLN,
Audit Committee.

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN AND CABINET-KEEPER.

Mr. President and fellow-members:—

So numerous and various are the subjects and objects that have engaged the attention of the librarian and his assistants during the year just passed, that he finds it difficult to decide whereto begin or how to end a report to be laid before the seventy-seventh annual meeting of this society. The cabinet of which the librarian has special charge has in its three stories seven large rooms and six smaller ones, together with a gallery in the auditorium containing the historic drop-scene, the society's large collection of pamphlets and memorials of various industries and events. The cabinet has also a basement, containing, aside from its heating apparatus, a great amount of historic material of value and interest.

HISTORY: WHAT IT IS AND WHAT IT DOES.

In this great building is the accumulated historic material of the seventy-seven years that have elapsed since the society was formed in a lawyer's office, April 19, 1822. Though the librarian began the work of classifying and putting in order this material nearly nineteen years ago, he has not yet completed his task, for a good reason: The material has kept increasing as if to defeat his utmost efforts; and the work of various kinds put upon him by members and non-members keeps back the work of classifying, cataloguing and indexing the material. As an illustration of what is here seen: our courts of law go on making decisions, yet cases requiring decisions are so numerous that an extra justice has now and then to be appointed. Our historic material is many times greater to-day than it was twenty years ago, and historic inquiries and investigations are

just as pressing as lawsuits. They cannot be prevented in enlightened communities any more than can lawsuits. Nay, they ought not to be prevented, for they often serve to prevent the expense and vexation of lawsuits, on which account national, state and municipal governments do well to encourage them. It is not the fault of the librarian or of his assistants that history is so imperious in its demands. One hundred and fifty volumes of newspapers remain unbound; nearly as many more need rebinding, and very many other important improvements dependant on a due supply of funds are not made. The question is submitted, Are not those that hold the purse strings responsible here?

It should be understood that history is not, at this era in the world, a mere exercise of the memory. It is more and does more. It is helpful to man in many ways. It is in full sympathy with science, art and philosophy. It helps and vitalizes them and is helped and vitalized by them. It is progressive and aggressive like the professions of law, medicine theology and education. It uplifts them and is by them uplifted. It is a means of usefulness and improvement which no man, city, state or nation can afford to ignore or neglect.

The responsibility of the librarian of this society depends on the means afforded him. The society's work can be carried forward only so fast and so far as means and facilities are provided. This society was long in a languishing condition for the lack of funds. What has been recently done gives promise of better things—promise of the society's having the means of sustaining a working force and also of increased interest in the history of the growth and progress of the State. The banding together of a goodly number of citizens and members in its cause is an auspicious omen. Bequests and gifts of various kinds and from various sources cannot fail to accomplish the object.

As this sentence is written, a pamphlet comes to hand with the following title: "Catalogue of the first Two Hundred Volumes purchased by the Trustees of the Kidder Fund for the New England Historic Genealogical Society. Boston: Printed at the charge of the fund."

The income of that society's William B. Towne Fund has enabled it to publish and circulate five thick, well-bound, octavo volumes of the biographies of its members. The Marshall P. Wilder Fund is doing like good in other ways. Messrs. Kidder, Wilder and other benefactors of that society seem inspired to work for a common cause. Let the spirit of these men prevail here, and Rhode Island history will be known and will exert more influence at home and abroad. Further on some encouraging announcements will be made.

This society has on its exchange list the names of most of the leading historical societies in the country, and of several eminent societies abroad. Its members may learn how these societies are conducted and what they are doing by examining their publications on the shelves of this cabinet. The oldest historical society in the country is well started on the second century of its existence and it never showed more vigor and enterprise than now. The society that is reputed to be the best equipped of all for various historical work is of western origin, growth and vigor. It belongs to the great State of Wisconsin. The Royal Historical Society, London, has a most inviting series of works upon our shelves. The State of New York, through its State University and State Historian is making valuable contributions to our library. The Hon. John Russell Young, the Librarian of Congress, has placed this society under obligation, by sending choice and valuable works in exchange for its quarterly publication, of which he speaks in most appreciative terms.

This society never had at any one time a hundred members until a comparatively recent period. It now has nearly four hundred active and life members. This number could by personal effort be increased to five hundred. As this measure would afford financial support and extend a knowledge of the history of the State, it is worthy of attention.

HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS.

Eighteen years ago an historian of national reputation spent several hours examining the society's historical manuscripts. At the conclusion of his examination, he pronounced this a

unique and remarkable collection, such as he had rarely ever seen. Since then all the papers that could be identified as parts of the early records of Providence have been removed to the City Hall. To get possession of these records without taking away papers that did not belong to the city, their bindings had to be removed, by which means the list of manuscript volumes printed in the librarian's previous reports became worse than useless,—*misleading*. The papers that were taken from old volumes of whatever name to the City Hall, but not kept there, were promptly classified under the name of "Rhode Island Historical Society Manuscripts" and now constitute nine well-bound, folio volumes, whose papers are numbered from 1 to 2076. The removal of the said papers cannot be regarded as a loss, but rather as a gain, for the society now has the historical material, etc., records which it saved and carefully kept for half a century, brought back in a printed form, the work all supervised by an able commission selected from its own members.

The removal of the Providence Records has left no unoccupied space, for their place has been taken by other collections of papers of value and interest. The classification and arrangement of papers, including those recently brought into the cabinet and those stored in chests, trunks, cases and closets, from the dark attic of the old cabinet to the very basement, require care and attention. In our researches discoveries are not unfrequently made that are cheering and encouraging. Original documents are brought to light which illustrate some branch of our local history, some industry that has received attention, together with accounts of military feats, heroic deeds and achievements of various kinds.

In the quarterly publication of the last year the librarian has brought out an interesting John Eliot letter of 1644, which remained here in a fragmentary condition for half a century. If the librarian had heeded some counsel that was given him, these broken papers would have been consigned to the flames, and that letter which illustrates an important phase of Rhode Island history would never have been heard of. Cases of this kind have caused cautionary measures to be taken. The

librarian maintains that papers submitted to his care as cabinet-keeper should be put in order to serve the purposes of historical students before they are submitted to the scrutiny of persons who may be, and often are, curiosity hunters and traders, rather than veritable students of history.

While writing the foregoing paragraph, the librarians' attention was called to four loose papers that untrained clerks would be likely to regard as rubbish fit only for the waste-paper basket. These papers were on examination found to contain besides printed matter on one side of them, on the other side a written account of an important branch of industry that was carried on in a neighboring village from 1776 to 1785. The details of the business and the names of the persons engaged in it are given. These papers are put in order to be printed as soon as opportunity is afforded. Occurrences are not unfrequent here that illustrate the importance of having discriminating, well-trained clerks who can serve as a guard against interlopers and a nimble-fingered gentry, as well as help classify and arrange historic material.

Professor Goode of Washington speaks strongly in a carefully prepared essay of the importance of a competent clerical force in libraries and museums. He has no faith in cheap help or in a mere volunteer force. Incidents have occurred here and elsewhere illustrative of the correctness of this counsel. Thirty years ago a committee of this society was authorized to clear out a corner of the basement of the old cabinet. Among the damp and musty old newspapers was a set of the *Providence Morning Courier*, published by William G. Larned, from June, 1836, to January, 1840. While the condition of the basement was improved by the committee, valuable historic material was destroyed. The librarian knows not where to find a copy of the said paper, most of the semi-weekly part of which he took and read at the time of its publication. An earnest desire to bring about neatness and order throughout this building has existed and it has endangered the safety of historic material of various kinds. Patience is as much needed to endure what is disagreeable here as energy and persistence to make needed improvements. More than one package of dusty, wrinkled

and broken papers has narrowly escaped consignment to the furnace below.

At the risk of being tedious and disagreeable the librarian will touch a subject which he thinks pertains to the best interests of the society. It is an old saying that farmers are wont to lock their barn doors only after their horses have been stolen. Institutions and business men not unfrequently act in this way. They let a lot of their best property be taken from them before they adopt proper measures for its protection. It is well to understand that there is prevalent a kind of communism that disregards the rights of property and victimizes various kinds of business and institutions. The following is one of many illustrations of this mania. A man who served as a Senator in a General Court of a New England State, gained thereby free access to important State papers, a good quantity of which he took away and a long time afterward sold in a neighboring State. After the trade had been made and the cash received, that man acknowledged the act, but justified his conduct on the ground that he had as good a right to those records as any living man. Another case is that of a boy who stole from this library a Roger Williams letter and sold it. This boy, when last heard from, had acquired the physical proportions of a man and was confined in an insane asylum in a Western State. It is only thirty odd years since a lot of choice engravings were cut from books belonging to a great library by a Boston minister who handed the engravings back to the librarian rather than be arraigned and condemned as a criminal. The Parliamentary Charter of 1644 has been seen here within less than a century. Some of the original Warwick documents, which, though treated of late as private property, really belong to the town or State, are now in private hands. Other like acts committed hereabouts, one of which occurred but lately, may well serve as a warning.

The late Rev. Dr. W. P. Tucker, who was an active and interested member of this society, made the following statement in this cabinet shortly before his death : "While I was librarian of Bowdoin College Library, I found there an original historical paper of extraordinary value. Not having faith in the ability of

any educational or historical institution in the State of Maine to protect and save that paper, I placed it, under advice, in the Massachusetts Historical Society, where protection and safety are regarded as a first consideration." After observing the dangers to which this society's collections are exposed, from the construction of its cabinet and from meetings held here, Dr. Tucker remarked that this society would have, sooner or later, to adopt a policy whose primary object would be either to afford facilities for students of an educational institution or a policy whose primary object would be to collect, preserve and utilize historic material.

These two policies are different. Which shall prevail here is a question. Archdeacon Tucker was inclined to the latter, and the late Professors Gammell and Diman took the same view.

This society needs as its librarian, according to the policy it adopts, either a man of straw to pliantly yield to the claims of a pressing multitude, or a man of discrimination, decision and energy to so far resist and overcome the rush for possession and control as to allow the institution to pursue its appropriate work as an historical society. Telling, pertinent illustrations of what is meant here could be readily adduced.

The Hon. John S. Brayton, LL. D., who is a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society as well as of the Rhode Island, has lately given here several original historical documents of interest and value, pertaining as they do to an important section of the State. These gifts are prized not only for their intrinsic worth, but as an expression of confidence in the society's ability and intention to protect and preserve its historical treasures.

An accomplishment of interest is the bringing together and arrangement in chronological order, as far as possible, of a great body of military papers. These papers, dating from 1688 to 1830, will constitute, when the table of contents and the index are made, volume 5 of Rhode Island Military Papers. It is a thick, folio volume, parts of which are of value, and the whole volume will serve as an appendix to the four volumes of

Military Papers arranged several years ago. It is probable that some extracts from it will soon appear in print.

In 1890, the librarian purchased in Boston, a folio manuscript volume of 125 sheets (250 pages) entitled, "Rhode Island Account of Money paid by that State to Soldiers in the Revolutionary War, 1781, 82, 83." Eight leaves are missing in the middle of the book, and how many at the close cannot be told. The historical value of the work is not readily estimated.

Many loose deeds have been collected and after being pressed have been arranged in a large book, and work is progressing upon five other volumes bearing the following titles: "Legal Papers;" "Wills and Inventories;" "Plats, &c.;" "Shipping;" "Churches, Cemeteries, &c." It is probable that the process of classification can be further extended in dealing with the miscellaneous MSS. still remaining.

THE NEWSPAPER DEPARTMENT.

In the last July number of the quarterly publication appeared an article entitled, "The United States Chronicle: Its Publication Offices and its Publisher, together with the Diary kept by the Publisher and his Son." This work, done in the newspaper department of the library, properly belongs to the annual report of the librarian. *The Newport Mercury*, the oldest newspaper in the State, 1758-1899, and one that has had a remarkable career, has received much attention of late and it is hoped a good account of it will be soon furnished with a statement showing where large files of it may be found, though no hope of finding anywhere a complete set of it can be entertained. A new binding for all the volumes in this library aside from those belonging to the State will be needed.

The *Providence Patriot and Columbian Phenix* was the third long-continued newspaper published in Providence. It was issued from 1802 to 1832. An earnest effort to complete this set will be made, and it is hoped that means of having a proper binding will be furnished. The volume published in 1814 is very defective and assistance in completing it is solicited.

The newspaper department of this library was begun more

than a third of a century before the State took (1857) steps for the preservation of its newspapers, and more than half a century before the provisions of the State law became extensively known and complied with by newspaper publishers.

The newspaper section of this cabinet is of itself a library of no small dimensions, and is worthy of far more attention than it has received. It should have an elaborate detailed report, showing, as far as can now be shown, what newspapers have been printed in the State, when, where and by whom they were printed, what their leading objects were, and how many of them are preserved entire and how many of them are partially preserved. An intelligent and industrious clerk is needed all the time in the newspaper room to protect and preserve these volumes and compile summaries of information on various topics, for the benefit of newspaper correspondents and students of history whose visits and earnest inquiries are not infrequent.

We have here a number of short-lived newspapers that are unlike such serials as the *Newport Mercury*, 1758-1899, the *Providence Gazette*, 1762-1825, *Providence Journal*, 1820-1899, *Pawtucket Gazette and Chronicle*, 1825-1899, etc., etc. These publications occupy a position by themselves in the newspaper rooms. Their value cannot be ignored. Following are several of these volumes as described on their first page :

THE AMERICAN JOURNAL AND GENERAL ADVERTISER. April 1st, 1779 to April 12th, 1780. "A Day and Hour of Virtuous Liberty is worth a whole Eternity in Bondage."—CATO. Printed by Bennett Wheeler at the Printing Office on the West side of the Great Bridge where the printing business is carried on with care, fidelity and greatest despatch.

This was the precursor of Bennett Wheeler's *United States Chronicle*.—ED.

THE IMPARCIAL OBSERVER. Vol. 1, No. 2, March 21, 1801. Printed every Saturday morning for Benoni Williams, at the printing office in the Market House Chambers No. 3, where Articles of Intelligence, Communications, Advertisements, etc., will be thankfully received. \$1 and 50cts. Per Annum.

THE PROVIDENCE JOURNAL AND TOWN AND COUNTRY ADVERTISER. Vol. 1, No. 1, January 2, 1799. Published on Wednesdays by John Carter, Jr., at the New Printing Office, West Side of the Great Bridge in Providence.

This volume sadly needs a new binding.—ED.

CHRISTIAN TELESCOPE. Providence, Aug. 7th, 1824. Vol. 1, No. 1. "Ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free." Edited by David Pickering. \$1.50 in advance.

THE BEACON. Vol. 1, No. 1, Providence, Nov. 11, 1823. Printed and Published by W. S. Spear & C. T. Hinkley. Terms Two Dollars per Annum—Payable half yearly in advance.

CHRISTIAN SOLDIER. J. Whittemore, T. H. Bachelor, Publishers, H. H. Brown, Printer. Vol. 1, No. 1, Providence, Feb. 16, 1842. Published every Wednesday at 25 Market Square, Providence, under the patronage of the Ministers' Conference of the R. I. Q. Meeting.

LITERARY SUBALTERN. "Know for a certainty, the best things cannot exist under the hand of servitude."—Miss JANE PORTER. Vol. 1, No. 1, Providence, Jan. 1, 1829. Published Tuesday Mornings, by William Marshall, at No. 1 Market Square, first door east of the bridge. Sylvester S. Southworth, Editor. Price \$4.50 per Annum.

Mr. Southworth was widely known for many years as a newspaper correspondent.—ED.

INDEPENDENT INQUIRER AND COMMERCIAL ADVERTISER. Vol. 1, No. 1, Providence, Aug. 23, 1823. Printed and Published every Thursday morning by Barnum Field, 31 Market Street, opposite Eagle Bank. Terms \$2.00 per Annum.

Barnum Field afterwards removed to Boston where he was well known for a long series of years as one of the grammar masters who took part in the controversy with Horace Mann.—ED.

THE MICROCOSM. Vol. 1, No. 1, Published every Friday evening by Walter R. Danforth, Proprietor and Editor, No. 4 Market Square, June 10, 1825. Terms \$2.00 a year, payable

semi-annually, single copies 10 cents. For Advertisements of not more than 15 lines, one dollar is charged—and for those which are longer a price in the same ratio. No paper will be continued to Subscribers who do not comply promptly with the terms of payment.

In July, 1827, absorbed by the *R. I. American*.—ED.

LITERARY CADET AND RHODE ISLAND STATESMAN. Vol. 1, No. 1, Providence, April 18, 1827. Published Wednesday and Saturday morning by Smith & Parmenter, No. 9 Market Square, Providence, R. I. Terms \$4 dollars per Annum. Upwards of 4000 copies of this paper are circulated weekly.

THE LITERARY JOURNAL AND WEEKLY REGISTER OF SCIENCE AND THE ARTS. Published by J. Knowles and J. W. Vose at No. 9 Market Square; where subscriptions are received. Vol. 1, No. 1, Providence, June 8, 1833.

RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCER AND CHRISTIAN MONITOR. "To all that in every place call upon the name of Jesus Christ Our Lord, both theirs and ours." Vol. 1, No. 5, June 10, 1820. Printed at the American Office, No. 1 North Water St. Edited by James D. Knowles, terms \$1.50 per Annum.

HERALD OF THE UNITED STATES. Published by Nathaniel Phillips, at the Post Office, in Warren, R. I., December 7, 1793. Nathaniel Phillips was for years printer to the State.—ED.

NORTHERN STAR AND WARREN AND BRISTOL GAZETTE. "Our God, our Country, ourselves." February 10, 1827. Printed and Published every Saturday morning by Fowler & Randall.

GOSPEL PALLADIUM. By Reuben Potter, Jr. "Set for the defence of the Gospel."—ST. PAUL. Warren, R. I., Friday, Aug. 22, 1823. Vol. 1, No. 6.

The early Warren newspapers, valuable as they are, have never been bound.—ED.

Above are a few of the many newspapers that were sustained but for brief periods, parts or all of which are found here. An

extended list of this class of publications should be made and printed. It is presumed that numerous volumes of this class will be found in Newport where the Southern Cabinet of this society was maintained from 1822 to 1878, and all the collections that were there when that cabinet ceased to belong to this society were retained in Newport. While our list embraces only newspapers found in this cabinet, the proposed list should embrace all the newspaper enterprises of the State, the compiler of which will do well to consult an article in the *Providence Journal*, June 24, 1886.

Among the different classes of citizens that have done much to bring forward the history of Rhode Island, its newspaper editors, publishers and correspondents merit special honor. This society could furnish a list of names worthy of being written in golden letters.

Repeated inquiries have been made for papers that are not among our collections, one of which is *The Argosy*, published by the late Wm. J. Pabodie between 1840 and 1850.

The newspapers of this library, though begun long after the manuscripts and thus holding chronologically a secondary place, take a very high rank as historic material. This society at an early period took decided ground, under the leadership of the late Prof. Wm. G. Goddard, in favor of obtaining and preserving newspapers, and the State by following at a later period its example has done and is doing excellent service to the cause of Rhode Island history. The librarian will carry forward the work needed in the newspaper department as fast and as far as means are provided. An alphabetical index of the marriages and deaths, recorded in the *Providence Gazette*, during sixty-four years has been compiled and given to the society by a lamented member. An index of the marriages and deaths recorded in the *Providence Journal* during the long period of its existence would be of incalculable service. A member of this society who possesses special qualifications for his task, is engaged at this time in compiling a brief summary of notable scenes and events recorded in that paper during a long series of years, which summary can hardly fail to serve the purposes of history.

SPECIAL ADDITIONS AND HOW OBTAINED.

While a general statement of last year's acquisitions, classified as usual, conveys but a faint idea of value received, the statement is here made according to custom, and is as follows:—

Bound volumes.....	410
Unbound volumes and pamphlets	1,824
Miscellaneous articles, including works of art, etc...	224
Total	<u>2,458</u>

A better idea of these additions to the library can be gained by an examination of the accession book in which every article received is marked either as a gift, a purchase or as obtained by exchange. As the accession book cannot be examined outside the cabinet, the cabinet-keeper, after glancing over its pages, gives the best idea he can, in a limited time, of its summarized contents. Friends will realize the difficulty of compiling that summary in the brief time at his command and will, it is hoped, take a charitable view of failures on his part to make due acknowledgment of their contributions here.

An account of the newspapers received each year from the Secretary of State is kept as stated in the librarian's report rendered, January 14, 1897. Each volume thus received is stamped before it is put upon the shelf, "Property of the State of Rhode Island." An account is kept by the Secretary of State with the date when a load of the volumes is sent from the State House to the cabinet. On the 29th of September, 1898, were received from the State House 69 volumes of newspapers.

From the *Providence Journal* has been received the gift of eight volumes of the *Manufacturers and Farmers Journal*, for the years 1869, 1870, 1872, 1873, 1874, 1875, 1876, 1877. This gift is accompanied by the condition that the Journal Co. can claim these volumes in case that its own volumes are lost by fire.

Twenty-four volumes of the *Providence Daily Journal*, well bound, 1849-1860, inclusive, were give by Miss Susan Joslin.

The *Newport Mercury*, complete volumes were sent at the

end of each year for a long series of years. Gift of Miss Eliza A. Peckham or her lamented brother Samuel W. Peckham.

The *Newport Mercury*, 1898. Gift of Newport Mercury Publishing Co.

The *Pawtucket Gazette and Chronicle*, 1898. Gift of its publishers, Messrs. Lee & Upham.

"Records of New Amsterdam," 1653-1674 (7 vols.). Gift of Hon. William L. Stone, Mount Vernon, N. Y.

Seven valuable original documents, illustrative of the early history of the towns of Tiverton and Little Compton. The gift of Hon. John S. Brayton, LL. D., Fall River, Mass.

"Genealogy of the Dr. Solomon Drowne Family," compiled by the late Henry T. Drowne, and given by his son, Henry R. Drowne, New York City.

"Transactions of the Royal Historical Society," London, Eng. New series, Vols. 11 and 12. Gift of said society.

"One line of the Stearns Family." Gift of the author, John O. Austin.

"The Bay Colony : a Civil, Religious and Social History of the Massachusetts Bay Colony." Purchased.

"History of Deerfield, Mass.," 1636-1886. Purchased.

"Groton Historical Series," 3 vols., by Dr. S. A. Green. Purchased.

"Cape Cod : The Right Arm of Massachusetts." Purchased.

"True stories of New England Captives," by Alice Baker. Purchased.

"History of Dover, Massachusetts." Purchased.

"Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections," Nos. 25, 26, 27. Gift of Michigan State Library.

Twenty-four bound volumes, mostly histories of sections of Ohio and other Western States. Gift of George T. Paine, Providence.

"Collections of the Maine Historical Society," Vol. 5, 2d Series. Gift of the Maine Historical Society.

"The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents," Vols. 17 to 34. Purchased.

"Genealogy of the Andrews Family, 1635-1890." Gift of Arnold Green.

"Collections of the Wyoming Historical Society," Vol. 1. Gift of the Wyoming Historical Society.

"The True Story of John Smyth," by H. M. Dexter. Gift of Charles H. Smith.

"The Prince Genealogy," by F. A. Prince. Purchased.

"A Genealogy of the Rand Family in the United States." Purchased.

"Genealogy of the Kent Family of Dedham, Mass." Gift of Charles V. Chapin, M. D.

"The Pequot War," by Charles Orr. Gift of Royal C. Taft.

"Year Book, New York Society Sons of the American Revolution, 1898." Gift of Alexander R. Thompson, Sec'y.

"Suffolk Deeds," Vol. 9. Gift of Samuel A. Green, Boston.

The *Vicksburg Daily Citizen*, set up for print July 2, 1863, before the surrender of the city to Grant and issued by his order, July 4th. Gift of Albert G. Knowles.

"History and Genealogy of the Family of Baillie of Dunain." Gift of the author, Joseph G. B. Bullock, M. D.

"Washington Collections in the Boston Athenæum." Gift of the Boston Athenæum.

Indian arrows and other relics dug up on the Champlin farm in Charlestown by the late Cyrus Harris. Gift of Mrs. Samuel Ames.

An old fashioned pair of Fire Dogs and an iron Skillet. Gift of Dr. F. C. Clark.

One hundred miscellaneous pamphlets; also unbound numbers of the *New York Tribune* as follows: July, August and September, 1895, and complete volumes for 1896 and 1897. Gift of Providence Athenæum.

"History of Barrington, R. I.," by Thomas W. Bicknell. Purchased.

"Genealogy of the Family of John Savage, 1652." Gift of James Francis Savage, Lowell, Mass.

The Works of William Ames, D. D., London, 1641, together with the following works by Samuel Gorton:

A volume of printed Essays of Samuel Gorton.

1. "Simplicities Defence against Seven-headed Policy." 111 pages, first 48 pages gone. Printed in 1643.

2. "Incorruptible Key." In two parts—1st part 60 pages, 2d part 120 pages. Printed in 1647.

3. "Saltmarsh," printed in 1655, 197 pages.

4. "An Antidote against Common Plague of the World," printed in 1657, in three parts: 1st, Letter to Cromwell; 2d, Letter to the Reader; 3d, General Subject. All gifts of Miss Martha Gorton, a twin sister of the late Charles Gorton.

"Mitchell's History of Bridgewater." New edition. Purchased.

"Record of Births, Marriages and Deaths of Canton, Mass." Purchased.

"Battery D, First R. I. Light Artillery in the Civil War." Gift of Col. Charles C. Gray, Providence.

"Ancestors and Descendants of Royal Denison Belden." Gift of James Jerome Belden, Philadelphia.

"Insurance in Connecticut," by H. Woodward. Gift of Rev. Frederic Denison.

"National Cyclopedia of American Biography," Vol. VIII. Gift of Messrs. Frederick and William Hoppin, New York City.

"Geography, History and Civil Government of Vermont." Gift of the author, Edward Conant, Randolph, Vt.

"The Bibliography of Vermont or a List of Books and Pamphlets Relating in any way to the State," by Marcus D. Gilman. Gift of Rev. Henry I. Cushman.

A powder horn made by Esek Burlingame who was born in Glocester, R. I., in 1765. He made the horn in 1781, and served in the American Revolution as a substitute for his brother Nathan. The horn was procured from his father's tannery in said Glocester. Gift of his son, Elisha S. Burlingame, Pawtucket.

A piece of the Roger Williams Root, dug up on the 22d of March, 1860, and saved by Amos M. Warner, who was present on that occasion. Gift of J. T. Thyng, Providence.

The original Roger Williams Root. Exchange.

Photograph of Slate Rock, as remembered by the late Samuel W. Peckham, in 1832. Gift of Charles C. Nichols.

"American Ancestry," Vol. XI., 1898. Purchased.

"The Old Families of Salisbury and Amesbury," by David W. Hoyt, of this society; 3 Nos. Purchased.

"Figures of the Past," by Josiah Quincy, Class of 1821, H. U. Gift of Wm. H. Potter, Kingston, R. I.

"Proceedings, Bunker Hill Monument Association, 1898." Gift of Dr. Francis H. Brown, Boston.

"New Hampshire State Papers," Vol. XXVIII. By exchange.

"History of Maryland Volunteers in the Civil War." Gift of Colonel Geo. W. F. Vernon of Baltimore.

"Collections, South Carolina Historical Society," Vol. V. Gift of South Carolina Historical Society.

"Military Papers of Daniel Tompkins," Governor of New York, 1807-1811. Gift of New York State Library.

"Genealogy of the Hoagland Family in America, 1638-1891." Gift of Mrs. C. N. Hoagland.

"Journal of the American Irish Historical Society," Vol. I., 1898. Gift of American Irish Historical Society through Mr. Thomas H. Murray.

"Sketch of the Life and Public Services of William A. Richardson," by Frank W. Hackett. Gift of Frank W. Hackett, Washington, D. C.

"History of New York," 1853 ;

Cowley's "History of Lowell," 1868 ;

Williams' "History of Danby, Vt.," 1869 ;

Secomb's "History of Amherst, N. H.," 1883 ;

Runnel's "History of Sanbornton, N. H.," 1882 ;

Brooks' "History of Medford, Mass.," 1886 ;

"History of Houlton, Me.," 1884 ;

"Genealogy of the Rawlins Family," by John R. Rollins, 1874 ;

Obtained by exchange from Wm. A. Mowry.

"The Choates in America and their Descendants, 1643-1896," by E. O. Jameson. Purchased.

"The Life and Writings of Rufus Choate," 2 vols. Gift of Albert A. Folsom.

"Esek Hopkins, Commander-in-Chief of the Continental Navy," by Edward Field, of this society. Purchased.

Sixty-five Numbers Index to Decisions of the Supreme Court of Rhode Island, and several hundred miscellaneous pamphlets. Gift of Arnold Green.

"Record Book of the Society of Colonial Dames of Rhode Island." Gift of that society.

Portrait of the late Governor Seth Padelford. Gift of his daughter, Miss Maria L. Padelford.

A PLEASANT OUTLOOK.

Having had occasion to state in the early part of this report some facts that were disagreeable and trying, it is a pleasure — a privilege — to give near the close of it a more cheering and hopeful view of what is here going on. The fact that a letter, written in 1644 by John Eliot, the Apostle to the Indians, and a contemporary with Roger Williams,—a letter addressed more than 250 years ago to Richard Carder, one of the founders and town clerks of Warwick, R. I.,—a letter that came down through successive generations of the Carder and Gorton families in Warwick, and remained in this cabinet in a crumbled condition half a century unrecognized, was last year brought to light, printed in the society's publication, and the cause of its having been written explained, this fact is, in the opinion of the librarian, calculated to encourage more strenuous efforts for the cause of local history in this State. Though the market value of a John Eliot letter has been \$500, this acquisition will be prized for the light it sheds on a branch or period of Rhode Island history.

In the report of the treasurer are the names of fifteen members of this society whose generous contributions in the years 1897 and 1898 enabled the society to do a work creditable to itself and to its State.

Facts justify the statement that while multitudes of men and women, far and near, seek the unrestricted privileges of this society without any adequate return, the number of workers and helpers in the society's enterprise is increasing. There is reason to believe that more persons than ever before are now engaged in looking up historic material stored away in old chests, trunks, closets, garrets and attics. Within a year

an esteemed member, Mr. H. L. Dempsey, of Smithfield, has brought here old historic manuscripts and printed papers, collected on his round of duty, that are of decided value. These, with a lot of plats brought here several years ago by our associate, Mr. Marsden J. Perry, have just been classified and arranged for use in their appropriate portfolios. Captain Albert A. Folsom of Brookline, Mass., is one of our most efficient helpers, making researches and bringing here books and documents of various kinds that are of value. Our most unwelcome visitors are certain persons who, making private collections, come here only with the view of their own personal interest.

It is an occasion for gratitude that the society has so many members of broad and generous views and aims as shown by the following contributions.

The valuable gifts made by the Hon. John S. Brayton, LL. D., have been named elsewhere.

An original copy of Roger Williams' "Key to the Indian Language," printed in London in 1643, is the gift of fifteen members of this society whose names are given in the following order:

Nelson W. Aldrich, David S. Baker, Harold Brown, John Nicholas Brown, R. I. Gammell, R. H. I. Goddard, William Goddard, William Grosvenor, Rowland Hazard, George W. R. Matteson, Charles H. Smith, John H. Stiness, Royal C. Taft, William B. Weeden, George Peabody Wetmore.

On the closing day of 1898 two members of the society, Messrs. Isaac C. Bates and Henry R. Chase, performed a generous and graceful act, presenting a valuable collection of autographs purchased from a former fellow citizen and member of this society, William F. Channing, M. D. It comprises sixty-seven letters, a large number of which were addressed to the Rev. William Ellery Channing, D. D., together with twelve separate signatures and a poem in the handwriting of Mrs. Hemans.

The oldest letter is one written by William Penn to James Logan in 1709. It has been said of the papers in this collection that "a portion have historic importance or are otherwise

valuable in themselves. Prominent among these are the letters of William Penn, Joseph Priestly, John Adams, John Quincy Adams and John C. Calhoun. Of the three letters from John Quincy Adams, two relate to Cuba (one of them having been published in part, by advice of Charles Sumner, in 1862, during the civil war). The third letter describes the battle of John Quincy Adams in Congress over the petition purporting to come from slaves. These are all graphic and historic. The letter of John Adams, relating to the religion of his day, is caustic and characteristic. The letter of John C. Calhoun, on the subject of war, is of immediate as well as permanent public interest."

Since the reception of these autographs an alphabetical list has been prepared for easy reference. If otherwise classified, the groups would include among Revolutionary names the official signatures of John Hancock, John Jay, Samuel A. Otis, Robert Morris and Governor Trumbull. Among letters from public men are those of Josiah Quincy, Clá, Cass, Everett, Greeley, Sumner, Salmon P. Chase, Judge Story, Governor Andrew, Wilberforce, Kossuth, etc., together with signatures of Daniel Webster.

The literary group would embrace, among others, Sismondi, Chateaubriand, Degérando, Dickens, Frederika, Bremer, Margaret Fuller, Hawthorne, Emerson, Whittier, Prescott, Bancroft, Pierpont and Curtis.

Groups could also be formed of scientists, clergymen, jurists, artists and college presidents, leaving in the miscellaneous list a letter from Lord Holland, conveying thanks from Queen Victoria, a note from the Duchess of Anhalt Dessau, part of a letter from Lady A. F. Noel Byron, and a note from Fanny Kemble.

Many are the Rhode Island citizens who, honoring the name of Channing, will heartily endorse the following words used by the donors in their letter of presentation: "It seems fitting that these autographs collected by those so intimately related to the welfare of this State should find a final resting place in the cabinet of your society, where they may be inspected by its members and others interested."

William Ellery Channing was elected an honorary member of this society in 1836. Two interesting letters addressed by him to the society that year are on file, and it is probable that others will be found.

Respectfully submitted,

AMOS PERRY,

Librarian and Cabinet-Keeper.

REPORT OF THE LIBRARY COMMITTEE.

The library committee, on this seventy-seventh annual meeting of the society, beg leave to report :—

That the library has been open on all week-days, not holidays, through the year,—the opening in August, from 10 A. M. to 1 P. M., having met with favorable acceptance.

The additions to the collections of the society, during the year, have been as follows, viz.:—

Bound volumes.....	410
Unbound volumes.....	1,824
Miscellaneous: manuscripts, works of art, etc., etc...	224
Total.....	<u>2,458</u>

The committee submit the following statement of their expenditures for 1898, amounting in the aggregate to \$1,633.78, divided as follows, viz.:—

Books and periodicals, bought for the society.....	\$235 83
Cataloguing, indexing and preserving records and manuscripts.....	683 50
Administrative service of library and cabinet.....	643 00
Book-bindery bills.....	47 90
Stationery	23 55
	<u>\$1,633 78</u>

The report of the librarian and cabinet-keeper has given an outline and statistics of the work done the past year, under his watchful care, and of the progress made in cataloguing and preserving, in well-bound volumes, a mass of manuscripts of ancient dates, heretofore unclassified and practically unavailable for historical research.

The exposure of your newspapers to theft and mutilation was brought to your attention last year. It now appears that there are those who, under various pretexts, obtain access to your cabinet, and rob and mutilate with utter shamelessness even those works and manuscripts kept in closed cases under lock and key.

One instance has just been made public by Mr. Edward Field, in his "Life of Esek Hopkins," page 132, where "the postscript and signature of an important letter, by Abraham Whipple to Admiral Hopkins, was cut out and stolen," as he says, "by some miscreant," after he himself had copied the letter in 1897, and before its publication in 1898.

Your committee have reason to fear that this is but one of many cases of like character which have occurred in the past, and may occur in the future, unless much stronger restrictions on access to your manuscripts are imposed. Members of the society must be prepared not only to accept such restriction heartily, but also to sustain the library committee and the librarian in the most stringent measures it seems needful to adopt to restrain or exclude non-members and other unauthorized persons from access to the cases, and to stop such vandalism and graceless thefts.

All which is respectfully submitted,

WILLIAM D. ELY,
HOWARD W. PRESTON,
AMOS PERRY,

Library Committee.

REPORT OF THE LECTURE COMMITTEE.

JANUARY 10, 1899.

At ten meetings of the society, during 1898, lectures were given as follows:—

Jan. 25. Captain Nathan Appleton, subject, "The American Inter-oceanic Canal and its Relation to the Future of the Pacific Ocean."

Feb. 8. Mr. Thomas H. Murray, subject, "Some Irish Rhode Islanders in the Revolution."

March 8. Hon. Nathan W. Littlefield, subject, "London and the Fathers of the Pilgrim Church."

March 22. Hon. John S. Brayton, subject, "Some Facts in the History of Tiverton and Little Compton."

July 3. Hon. Asa Bird Gardiner, LL. D., subject, "The Havana Expedition of 1762 in the War with Spain."

Oct. 18. Hon. Henry L. Greene, subject, "Historical Sketch of the Greene-Street School, and of its Teachers, among whom was Margaret Fuller, afterwards the Marchioness d'Ossoli."

Nov. 1. Miss Ellen D. Larned, subject, "Old Time Militia Service."

Nov. 15. Addresses given by Hon. B. N. Lapham and five members, subject, "History and Objects of our Public Schools."

Nov. 29. William A. Mowry, Ph. D., subject, "The Slave Power and the Free States."

Dec. 13. Andrew McFarland Davis, A. M., subject, "The Colonial Currency of Rhode Island and its contributory effect upon the premium of Silver prior to 1750."

On account of the trouble and expense of keeping up fortnightly meetings from October to April of the next year, the committee suggest the expediency of less frequent meetings and they recommend the policy of having one or more special meetings each year, affording opportunities for intercourse and interviews among members.

AMOS PERRY,
REUBEN A. GUILD,
WILLIAM B. WEEDEN,
Lecture Committee.

REPORT OF THE PUBLICATION COMMITTEE.

The quarterly publication of the society has been issued the last year in accordance with established usage. The quarterly bills have been audited by the committee and paid by the treasurer, as follows :—

Whole No. 21, audited April 21.....	\$150 00
“ 22, “ July 8.....	107 30
“ 23, “ Oct. 12.....	109 40
“ 24, “ Dec. 31	131 30
Total	\$498 00

The Hon. Henry L. Greene, who furnished the Historical Sketch of the Greene-Street School of Providence, and of its Teachers, has borne the entire expense of the admirable picture that serves as a frontispiece to the last issue of the quarterly. A grateful acknowledgment is hereby made for this valuable contribution to our local history. The committee solicit like contributions from all who are interested.

Submitted in behalf of the committee,

J. F. JAMESON,
Chairman.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON GROUNDS AND BUILDINGS.

Providence, January 10, 1899.

To the Rhode Island Historical Society:

The committee on building and grounds report that the property of the society under their care is in good condition, and that the amount expended by their authority is \$156.40.

Respectfully, for the committee,

ISAAC H. SOUTHWICK, JR.,

Chairman.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON GENEALOGICAL RESEARCHES.

The committee on genealogical researches would report that the list of works classified and catalogued by the librarian as belonging to the genealogical-room, and added during 1898, is as follows:—

14 Family Genealogies.

8 Pamphlets placed with family genealogies.

5 Pamphlets.

GENEALOGICAL WORKS.

Vol. XI. (1898) "American Ancestry," and Vol. X. of Arnold's "Vital Records" (church records) have been published during the year.

A chart arranged in circular form showing ten generations of the ancestry of the German Emperor, illustrating possibilities in line of research, represented by your committee, has been given to the society.

We would quote, as of interest to many Rhode Islanders, from a letter of Mr. Geo. Ernest Bowman, secretary of Society of Mayflower Descendants, of Massachusetts. Under date of December 21st he states that "This society has decided to take up systematically the research for the ancestors of the Mayflower pilgrims, and the compilation of the genealogy of their descendants, both male and female branches, for three or four generations. We shall also begin in January publication of *The Mayflower*, a quarterly for printing result of our searches and literal transcripts of Plymouth colony records, town, county and private."

Appended hereto is a list, furnished by the librarian, of the genealogical accessions during the year.

FAMILY GENEALOGIES.

One Line of the Stearns Family, compiled by John O. Austin, 1897.

Ancestry of General Grant, by Edward C. Marshall, 1869.

Princes, by Frank A. Prince, 1898.

Crawford, Carter, Danforth, Terrence, Family Records (type-written MS.), 1898.

Genealogy of the Rand Family, by Florence O. Rand, 1898.

Genealogy of the Different Families bearing the name of Kent in the United States, A. D. 1295-1898, by L. Vernon Briggs, 1898.

Clark Jillson and his Descendants, 1879.

History and Genealogy of the Family of Baillie of Dunain, by Joseph G. R. Bulloch, M. D., 1898.

Genealogical Sketch of the Descendants of Thomas Green(e) of Malden, Mass., by Samuel S. Greene, 1858.

Ancestors and Descendants of Royal Denison Belden, by Jessie Perry van Zile Belden, 1898.

History of the Faxon Family, by George L. Faxon, 1880.

History and Genealogy of the Hoagland Family in America, 1638-1891, published by Dr. Cornelius N. Hoagland, 1891.

Records of Families of the name of Rawlins or Rollins in the United States, by John R. Rollins, 1874.

The Choates in America, 1643-1896: John Choate and his descendants, by E. O. Jameson, 1896.

PAMPHLETS PLACED WITH FAMILY GENEALOGIES.

Schell, or Researches after the Descendants of John Christian and John Schell, compiled by Christian Denissen, 1896.

The Bicknells, compiled by Thomas W. Bicknell, 1880.

Goodwin Families in America, supplement to College William and Mary Quarterly, 1898.

Mowry Family Monument near Woonsocket, R. I., erected by the Hon. Arlon Mowry, 1898.

History of the Andrews Family: Robert Andrews and his descendants, by H. Franklin Andrews, 1890.

Lillie Family of Boston, 1663-1896, by Edward L. Pierce, 1896.

Silas Sweet of New Bedford, Mass., and Bradford, Vt., and his Descendants, by Charles S. Johnson, 1898.

Cox Families of New England, No. 1, by Rev. John H. Cox, 1898.

PAMPHLETS.

Henry Andrews of Taunton and the Calves' Pasture, by Almon D. Hodges, Jr., 1898.

English Ancestry of Simon and Gregory Stone, by William E. Stone, 1897.

Colonel John Gorham's "Wast Book," with notes by Frank W. Sprague, 1898.

Philip Gereardy of New Amsterdam and his Rhode Island Descendants, by Charles K. Bolton (Reprint *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, July, 1898).

The Goodwins of Kittery, Me., by John S. Goodwin, 1898.

GENEALOGICAL WORKS.

American Ancestry, Vol. XI., 1898, Joel Munsell's Sons, Albany, N. Y., publishers.

Respectfully submitted,

GEO. T. HART,

FRED A. ARNOLD,

Committee.

NECROLOGY.

DANIEL DAY.

Daniel Day was born in Uxbridge, Mass., July 22, 1821, and died in Providence, January 21, 1898. He was the son of Joseph Day who was a woolen manufacturer in Uxbridge. He came in 1841 to Providence where he resided till his death. His name appears first in the Providence Directory of that year as a clerk, and soon afterwards he was associated with V. J. Bates & Co. In 1853 he was a cotton and commission merchant on South Main street. In 1854 he was of the firm of Day & Chapin (John F.). In 1889 the firm name was Daniel Day & Co., his son, Joseph T. Day, being associated with him. In 1890, having been appointed National Bank Examiner for Rhode Island, by President Harrison, the announcement appears in the Directory. December 16, 1845, he was married to Miss Maria S. Mumford. He left two children, a son and a daughter. The son, Joseph T. Day, is secretary of the What Cheer and Hope Mutual Fire Insurance Companies, and the daughter is the wife of Professor Appleton of Brown University. Mr. Day was a good citizen and a careful and respected business man, enjoying the confidence of the community during his long and honorable career. He became a member of this society in 1881 and left on record his opinion that the best interests of the State required it to be well sustained.

CHRISTOPHER LIPPITT.

Christopher Lippitt, son of William and Roby (Sheldon) Lippitt, was born on his father's farm in Cranston, April 22, 1825.

His boyhood was passed on the old farm, attending the village school, but he early developed an unusual desire for study and books, a taste with which his father seemed to have sympathized. He was sent for several years to a boarding-school, with a view to preparing for college. This, greatly to his disappointment, he was obliged to give up, and he decided to enter mercantile life. He soon became interested in cotton manufacturing, and forming a partnership with Thomas Harris, under the firm name of Harris & Lippitt, and afterwards alone, continued the manufacture of sheetings and shirtings in the Phenix, Lippitt, and Jackson Mills until declining health compelled him to retire from active business. He then traveled in this country and abroad, visiting various health resorts and sanitariums in the hope of establishing his health, but all to no purpose. He continued gradually to decline, and died of Bright's Disease, at his home in Providence, February 3d, 1898, having been an invalid for more than twenty-five years. He married Susan Gordon Hallett, a daughter of Col. George W. Hallett, who survives him. He became a member of this society in 1880.

CHARLES GORTON.

Charles Gorton was a lineal descendant, in the eighth generation, from Samuel Gorton, who was one of the founders of Warwick and one of the best known and most historic men that took part in establishing the Colony of the Rhode Island and Providence Plantations. The family line is thus traced: Samuel,¹ John,² Samuel,³ William,⁴ Nathan,⁵ Joseph,⁶ Nathan,⁷ Charles.⁸ Charles's father was familiarly called Captain Nathan. He early led a seafaring life, thus acquiring property that enabled him to pass his advanced years without anxiety for means of support. His four children, two sons and two daughters, were all well formed and acquired habits of industry, economy and sobriety. Charles, who was the second son, was born March 25, 1841, in Providence, where he died April 15, 1898. He held for a long period the position of clerk, at first

in a bank and later in a wholesale grocery. Though successful he threw up that position and established himself as a collector and trader in second-hand books, pamphlets, manuscripts and articles of various kinds. Visiting old garrets, attics, junk-shops and out-of-the-way places, he found treasures that rewarded him for his exertions. A good idea of his collections could be gained by visiting certain rooms in his house which he delighted to show his friends. While he had as complete a set of this society's publications as he could find, and of many other choice works especially pertaining to Rhode Island history, he had a great assortment of antiquarian curiosities. While system and order prevailed, no one aside from himself could give a definite account and explanation of what he had. Mr. Gorton was said to possess some of the striking characteristics of his distinguished ancestor. Undaunted by the presence of any civil, ecclesiastical or political mortal, he spoke and acted according to the light that was in him. Bold and uncompromising, he was a source of strength wherever he enlisted. He was a faithful and trustworthy friend, and knew so well how to fight his own battles that he was not likely to let his enemies, if he had any, get the better of him. When he became a member of an organization he worked for it, at least for a time. He was once a member and president of a numismatic society. At twenty-one years of age he became a sincere and devoted freemason, yet, though liberal and generous, never accepted an office in that fraternity. He became an active member of the Rhode Island Historical Society in 1878, and in 1880 sent to the treasurer a fifty-dollar check to constitute himself a life member. Though pervaded with a sense of the divine presence, and generally successful in his enterprises, one failure is notable. Provided by the divine Architect with a vigorous constitution and a tall and solidly constructed physical frame, that, with proper care, should have endured four score years or more, he failed to keep that frame in order and thus had to pay the debt of nature, giving up the ghost before he was three score years of age. His departure is a loss not only to his surviving brother and sister, but to a wide circle of friends.

WILLIAM PACKARD TUCKER, D. D.

William Packard Tucker, D. D., was the son of Jonathan and Mary (Packard) Tucker. He was born in Biddeford, Me., July 24, 1834. He was fitted for college in Salem, Mass., and entered Bowdoin in 1850 and graduated in 1854. He intended to be a mechanical engineer and prepared himself in machine shops in Lawrence, Mass., and in Chicago, and in Dayton, Ohio. His eyes failed him and he was obliged to give up engineering. His college gave him a tutorship and made him librarian and assistant professor in Mathematics. He taught a year or two in the high schools of Portland, Me. He then turned his thoughts to the ministry of the Protestant Episcopal Church and prepared himself carefully under Bishop Burgess of Maine, and was ordained deacon in 1865 and priest in 1866. He did missionary work in Maine and was rector of Grace Church, Bath, till 1869, when he went to California and was rector of St. John's, Stockton, and principal of St. Augustine's College, Benicia. In 1876 he came east and took charge of the church in Holyoke, Mass., and in 1877 became rector of Trinity Church, Pawtucket, R. I., where he remained till he was appointed by Bishop Clark archdeacon of the diocese in September, 1893, which office he held till his death, May 4, 1898. He was a typical New England pastor of indefatigable industry, devoted to his work as rector, or as dean of convocation, or as archdeacon. He was a fine scholar and a good preacher. His carefulness in details was shown in the preparation of a catalogue of the valuable library of Bowdoin College, on an original system of registration of books and authors which attracted much attention. He received from Bowdoin the degree of D. D. in 1894. A widow and two daughters survive him, his only son having died in the autumn of 1897. Dr. Tucker became a member of this society in 1895. On his first visit he presented a copy of the Bowdoin College catalogue referred to above. On his last visit he set forth his views as to how a historical society should be conducted.

HENRY WASHINGTON WILKINSON.

Henry Washington Wilkinson was born in Smithfield, R. I.,

August 20, 1835, and died in Franklin, Mass., May 6, 1898. He was the son of Washington Adams Jefferson Wilkinson and of Mary Tower Remington. He was the grandson of Simeon Wilkinson, who was a great-great-grandson of his immigrant ancestor Lawrence Wilkinson, who was admitted a freeman of the Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations in 1645. Mr. Wilkinson was connected with many distinguished families of the first settlers of these plantations, including Williams, Waterman, Jencks, Rhodes, Greene, Arnold, etc. He so availed himself during his early life of the privileges of public and private schools in this State and in Massachusetts, that at the age of sixteen he entered the counting-room of J. Edwards, Jr., & Co., in Southbridge, Mass., where he had opportunities for instruction which he appreciated. At the age of twenty-three he came to Providence where he occupied for a time the position of a bookkeeper, acquiring thus knowledge and training that proved of service to him when he assumed later the responsibility of business enterprises. In 1861 he became associated in the cotton-manufacturing and calico-printing business with Crawford Allen, George C. Nightingale and Sullivan Dorr, and withdrew from that firm only after the death of Messrs. Allen and Dorr. In 1881 he became connected with the Corliss Safe Co. as its treasurer, which position he held until 1895 when the Corliss Safe Co. was consolidated with the Mosler Safe Co. of New York, of which he was a vice-president, and he held that position at the time of his death. Mr. Wilkinson was a whole-souled man who strove to introduce and maintain method, system and order in business transactions and in religious and charitable institutions, where he set a good example, rendering counsel and assistance according to his means. Mr. Wilkinson was married in 1861 to Miss Anna Reed, daughter of Rev. Dr. Julius A. Reed of East Winsor, Conn., and Caroline (Blood) Reed of Concord, Mass. His wife survives him, together with two sons and a daughter, all well educated and settled in life. Mr. Wilkinson became a member of this society in 1896 and both he and his family showed their appreciation of its privileges.

JOHN GORHAM.

John Gorham was elected a member of this society in 1858, and for twenty-five years he not only paid his annual tax but made gifts which are to-day far more valuable than his money contributions. During this long period he not only made contributions himself but exerted an influence favorable to the best interests of the society. Even after his departure from the State he remembered the society, sending occasionally some token of his interest. He was born in Providence, November 18, 1820, and died in Chase City, Va., June 26, 1898. He was the son of Jabez Gorham, who long carried on a large business as a jeweler, and had also introduced a small silver department. The son so changed, enlarged and developed the latter business as to be accredited, by persons who understand the facts in the case, as being the founder of the great industrial institution known throughout the country as the Gorham Manufacturing Co. Though a descendant of John Howland, who came over in the Mayflower, he laid no claims to such honors. Trials, disappointments and affliction did not shake his faith in divine wisdom and goodness. He was cheerful and hopeful to the end. His funeral was at the house of his sister, Mrs. Caleb Farnum, and his remains are in the family burial lot at the North Burial Ground. His wife, a daughter of the late Isaac Thurber, survives him together with two sons, Charles Isaac and Jabez Gorham.

CHARLES EARL CARPENTER.

Mr. Carpenter was born in Providence, June 22, 1824, and died June 28, 1898. The son of Earl Carpenter and Sarah Ann Harris, on both sides he was descended from illustrious founders of Rhode Island. He was of the sixth generation from William Carpenter of Pawtuxet; of the eighth generation from William Harris; of the eighth generation from Roger Williams; of the seventh generation from Governor John Codrington, and directly descended from John Greene of Potosi.

Mr. Carpenter's entire life was spent in Providence, his school life in the school of Mr. Thomas C. Hartshorn, and his business life in connection with the ice firm of Earl Carpenter & Sons. Mr. Carpenter's services to the city and State were many and important. He was prominent in connection with the introduction of the paid fire department, in the expansion and modernizing of its methods, and as a member of the Board of Water Commissioners he was influential in the introduction of the Pawtuxet water supply. He was a member of the State legislature in 1877 and in 1884.

Mr. Carpenter was a member of the board of managers of many charitable organizations of the city and was president of the R. I. Homeopathic Hospital from its organization until his resignation in May, 1898. He was actively interested in all the affairs of the First Universalist Society and of the Universalist denomination at large. His most important service in the Church was as superintendent of the First Universalist Sunday School for forty-nine years.

Mr. Carpenter married Adeline Frances Greene, October 2, 1849. They had four children.

Mr. Carpenter was for many years a member of the Rhode Island Historical Society, whose meetings he attended with much regularity and where his remarks and addresses were highly appreciated.

JOSEPH BANIGAN.

Joseph Banigan was one of the most remarkable of the individuals developed in the State, which, of all the members of the American union, has been most noted for the development of individuality. Born in Carickadoncy, County Monaghan, Ireland, June 7, 1839, he was brought by his parents to this country when he was about eight years old. One year's schooling only was his. At the age of nine, he was set to work in the rooms of the New England Screw Co., and yet, by the force of his genius, this untaught boy not only became one of the richest men of Rhode Island, but also made himself a great power in the financial world and the controlling spirit

in one of the most successful industries that have been developed in this country. After a few years of work with the screw company, he became a journeyman jeweler and worked in various establishments in Providence and Attleborough. Later he engaged, with a partner, in the manufacture of rubber bottle-stoppers, and moved to Boston, to become superintendent of a factory there. From this time the story of his life reads like a fairy tale. Everything seemed to turn to gold at his touch,—having discovered the process for vulcanizing rubber. He was manager of the Goodyear India-Rubber Bottle-Stopper Co., until 1866. As manager, he superintended the building of the great rubber factory at Jamaica Plain. All this time he had been making fortunes for others. At twenty-seven he was buyer, superintendent and salesman for the Woonsocket Rubber Co., a creation of his own. This company was enormously successful. In 1895, he sold his interest in it to the United States Rubber Co. and became president of the latter corporation. The Lawrence Felting Co., at Millville, was also his work. Mr. Banigan saw the necessity of doing away with middle-men in purchasing raw material. First of American manufacturers he established a house at Para, for the purchase of crude rubber, and thus virtually made himself the head of the rubber business in this country. To enumerate his business enterprises would be impossible. His latest work was the Joseph Banigan Rubber Co. at Olneyville. But Mr. Banigan was not less noted as a philanthropist than as a man of business. A Roman Catholic in religion, he was catholic in his sympathies and gave liberally to all good works. In the Catholic University at Washington he endowed a Chair of Political Economy. In Brown University, he founded two scholarships. It is estimated that during his life he gave away a million dollars in charities. One of his monuments in Providence is the St. Maria Home for Working Girls. For his gifts for objects connected with his own church, the Pope made him a Knight of the Order of St. Gregory the Great. He was twice married. His first wife was the daughter of John F. Holt, of Woonsocket. Her

four children survive their father. His second wife was Maria T. Conway, of New York City. Mr. Banigan died July 28, 1898. He became a life member of this society in 1890.

ROWLAND HAZARD.

Rowland Hazard, son of Rowland Gibson Hazard and Caroline Newbold, his wife, was born in Newport, R. I., August 16, 1829. He graduated from Brown in 1849, with honor, and was compelled by delicate health to seek a milder climate for several years. With his friend, James B. Angell, he went abroad in 1851. Few who saw his strong physical frame in later years would imagine how delicate he had been as a youth, with serious threatening of trouble with the lungs. He learned Italian, lying speechless on his back for six weeks, in Florence, after a severe hemorrhage. He came home better, and, in 1854, married Margaret Anna Rood, daughter of Rev. Anson Rood, of Philadelphia. Then his active life began. He took hold of the mills in Peace Dale, was superintendent, chief dyer and designer in one. In 1855 he was instrumental in starting the Narragansett Library. The next year the large stone building with a hall in it was built, and the Sunday school moved in. The establishment of the Second Congregational Church of South Kingstown followed in 1857. For a year or two, at the close of the war, Mr. Hazard was in the State Legislature, and then went regularly to Providence every winter from 1865 to 1885. Many business enterprises interested him, and he gave much time to public duties. He was a trustee of the Butler Hospital, and active in Brown University affairs. He was on the building committee of the University Library, and devoted much time to it, and also on the committee for remodeling Hope College, later. All his life he was a student of architecture, and built both buildings and bridges of stone himself. Five stone bridges in Peace Dale he planned and carried out, one a single arch of a forty-foot span. He was always a student. His pamphlet-room bears testimony to the many subjects which interested him: finance, taxation and money,

labor, wages, cattle, agriculture, these and many other subjects he was well posted upon. Economics in all its branches claimed his attention, and he had a special love and aptitude for mathematics. His great distinction lay in the fact that what he once mastered he retained. Many persons can work up a subject for temporary use, but Mr. Hazard not only grasped his subject firmly but retained it in its details for years.

He had large interest in many directions. A lead mine in Missouri, which he owned for twenty years, familiarized him with all the details of that business. He introduced the manufacture of Soda, by the ammonia process, into this country, in 1881, and established the new industry in the face of great technical and commercial difficulties. Thus he became truly a many-sided man, open to all suggestions of interest, full of accurate knowledge, which his large and generous nature assimilated and made his own, so that he was the furthest possible remove from anything like a pedant.

He published very little; but for twenty years his annual addresses at the Washington County Fair were events in the lives of many people. He was a loyal son of the State. The Rhode Island idea of freedom, of individual responsibility, was dear to him. When, therefore, he was asked to deliver the address at the laying of the cornerstone of the new State House, in 1896, he brought a real enthusiasm to the task, and the address must stand as a model of its kind. His clear, vigorous English had the elegance of perfect simplicity and sincerity. It rose with his theme so that the fine and noble thought clothed itself in fitting phrase. There was no attempt to please; but truth itself uttered her voice and sounded in the ears of his listeners.

Mr. Hazard came of so vigorous a family, he had such a fine physique, that it seemed he had years of useful life before him. His father nearly finished eighty-seven years. But Mr. Hazard's years were full years, and when his wife died, in 1895, the main-spring of his life was broken. He threw himself into work with new ardor. "Nothing remains

but duty," he wrote a friend. For him the separation proved to be short. In January, 1897, he had a severe attack of grip from which he never recovered, as it left his heart in a weakened condition. He went to Nauheim, in July of that year, but returned in October, not so well, only to go to California. There he improved and returned to Peace Dale in the late spring of 1898, much better, to all appearance, so that he was able to attend the Brown University commencement in June. But there was radical difficulty with the heart, and on the 16th of August, 1898, without a moment's warning, it suddenly ceased to beat. So this good and noble man left the world "in the twinkling of an eye" and left it a better and happier place for having lived in it.

JAMES TILLINGHAST.

Among the men who, residing far away from their ancestral home in Rhode Island, have come back to mark the grave-stones of their forefathers, James Tillinghast of Buffalo, N. Y., is a striking example. He was born in Cooperstown, N. Y., May 8, 1822, and died in Buffalo, N. Y., October 25, 1898. Twelve or fifteen years ago he introduced himself to the librarian of this society as a descendant of Elder Pardon Tillinghast, whose life and exploits seemed well known to him. He said his ancestor, Elder Pardon, was born in Sussex, England; was a soldier in Cromwell's army; came to this country with Roger Williams when the latter returned with the Parliamentary Charter in 1644; settled in Providence; built the first meeting-house here; was pastor of the First Baptist Church from the death of Elder Thomas Olney in 1682 till his own death in 1719 at ninety-seven years of age. Mr. Tillinghast on leaving the cabinet on that occasion took with him the names of well-known members of his family residing here. An account of what he did, acting the part of Scott's Old Mortality, has come to the writer through co-workers in that enterprise. The Tillinghast burial ground has another look from what it had of old. Mr. Tillinghast's father was Gideon, in the fourth generation from Elder Pardon, and was born in Exeter, R. I.,

April 15, 1795. Father and son were trained mechanics and business men. The former after residing some time in Walpole, Mass., removed to Cooperstown, N. Y. The latter after much experience in various branches of industry, acquired the confidence and esteem of the elder Cornelius Vanderbilt, and thus became a railroad president and a promoter of railroad enterprises. Mr. Tillinghast took an active part in the Historical Society of Buffalo, where he resided, and was one year its president. He collected and sent here repeatedly pamphlets relating to Rhode Island history. Making two other visits to the cabinet, he brought tokens of interest and good will. He was made a corresponding member of this society in 1888, and being elected at his own request in 1895 an active member, he sent a fifty-dollar check to constitute himself a life member. He regretted his inability to devote much time to historical pursuits, but it is certain that he was the better man for the efforts he put forth and for holding in grateful remembrance worthy ancestors.

CHARLES BRADLEY.

Charles Bradley, the son of Charles Smith Bradley, late Chief Justice of the Rhode Island Supreme Court, was born in Providence in the year 1845 and died in the same city November 10th, 1898. He prepared for college in the University Grammar School and entered Williams College in the class of 1865. After his graduation he was for a time a teacher, and was also engaged in business in Chicago and in Colorado. Returning to Providence he studied law in the office of his father, was admitted to the Rhode Island Bar, and was for many years a successful lawyer. During the latter years of his life he abandoned the practice of law and devoted most of his time to agriculture and to cattle raising. His model farm, in the town of Lincoln, was not only a matter of great interest to himself, but also a most important object lesson to all the farmers of the State. He was a man of unusual culture. A great lover of books, he was also an enthusiastic collector of works of art. His art treasures,

generously offered for the inspection of the public in the rooms of the Rhode Island School of Design, and elsewhere, have been a source of exceeding delight to hundreds of people. Mr. Bradley cared nothing for politics and never held public office. His tastes were entirely domestic; he greatly loved children and spent most of his time at home. A widow, the daughter of the late William M. Bailey, two sons and three daughters survive him. He became a member of this Society in 1881.

HENRY CLAY ARMSTRONG.

Henry Clay Armstrong was born in the village of Chepachet, town of Glocester, R. I., March 22, 1847, and died in Providence, January 6, 1899. He was the son of Job Armstrong, Jr., and Harriet (Reynolds) Armstrong. He was a grandson of Job Armstrong, Sr., who was born in Chepachet in 1784, and he was a great-grandson of Jesse Armstrong, who was born there in 1759. The last-named ancestor was receiving in 1840 a pension in return for his services in the Revolutionary War. When the subject of this sketch was about five years old his parents removed to Providence, and when he was eight they removed to Grand Rapids, Mich. In the latter place while attending school he was a newspaper carrier, and became connected with a news depot where he made many friends by his courteous manners and obliging acts. In 1860 he returned with his parents to Providence, and after a course of study in the Prospect-Street Grammar School he secured the position of clerk in the Providence Tool Company. In 1865 he entered the office of the Kendall Manufacturing Company as a clerk. After some time his health and his eyesight became impaired and he feared having to quit his post. He was allowed, however, such a change of occupation as would tax his eyes less and allow him to be more in the open air. With this change he regained his eyesight, recovered his health, and was thus enabled to render invaluable service to the company during the rest of his life. His agreeable manners, conversational powers, general intelligence, and especially his thorough understanding

of the business entrusted to him, were strong in his favor. He belonged to a good family and having the care of a good mother he so well directed his efforts that he became a well-developed, level-headed man, occupying positions of honor and trust with credit to himself and benefit to the community. His conduct in both branches of the City Council commanded respect, and he died respected and beloved by a wide circle of friends. Before becoming a member of this society, in 1891, he stated that he wished to avail himself of its privileges, but he could not allow himself to take such a step without doing his part for the maintenance of the institution. His application for membership was honored and the society and the man were mutually benefited.

GEORGE KING CRANSTON.

George King Cranston was born September 8, 1830, in Providence, where he died January 14, 1899. He was the son of Barzillai and Irene (Guild) Cranston. He was one of a family of seven children, comprising one daughter and six sons. He was educated in the public schools of Providence. After leaving the High School he pursued a course of study in the laboratory of Brown University. He then entered the shop of J. Bassett Nichols, where he learned the jewelers' trade, and worked some time for Geo. & Smith Owen. He was occupied as a jeweler about ten years. He then went to Des Moines, Iowa, where he spent about ten years as a merchant. Returning to Providence about 1864 he entered the National Bank (now the Old National Bank) as a bookkeeper. In 1867 he was transferred to the City Savings Bank. He became treasurer of that institution in 1878, and died while holding that position. He was descended on his father's side from Governor Samuel Cranston of Newport, R. I., and on his mother's side was related to the Hon. Edward Everett of Massachusetts. Mr. Cranston was much interested in historical and genealogical pursuits. He became a member of the Rhode Island Historical Society in 1877. He collected and left on file valuable papers relating to his family and to certain

branches of local history. Modesty, conscientiousness and fidelity to duty were striking traits of his character. He was never married.

KONRAD GISLASON.

Konrad Gislason was elected an honorary member of this society in 1878. He was born in Iceland, March 17, 1808. He was appointed a lecturer in the Old Northern language at the University of Copenhagen, 1848. He was *professor ordinarius* in the Northern languages in 1862. In 1886 he retired. He died April 1, 1891. He married in 1855, but left no children. In 1868 the University of Lund, Sweden, honored him with the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. His scientific production treats the Old Northern language, the grammar, the dictionary, the texts, especially the court poetry (*i. e.*, the poems of the "Scalds"). For the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries he edited the *Nials Saga*, I.-II. (1875-1889), and published several dissertations in the *Aarbøger*. Further, he published a Danish-Icelandic dictionary (1851) and an Old Icelandic phonology (1846). Since his death have been published a choice collection of Old Northern Court Poetry (1892), and Posthumous Works, I.-II. (1895-1897).

For the time 1865-1897, he was secretary for the Old Northern literature in the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries. —(Furnished by R. Roalund, of Copenhagen.)

OLON WANTON BUSH.

Solon Wanton Bush was elected a corresponding member of this society in 1869. He was born in Newport, R. I., February 11, 1819, and died in Boston, March 19, 1898. He graduated at Brown University in 1845 and at Harvard Divinity School in 1848. His life was devoted to religious, literary and philosophical pursuits, as pastor of four Unitarian churches, editor of the *Christian Register*, and contributor to various periodicals. He was deeply imbued with the spirit of William Ellery Channing, the eminent religious teacher of his native city, and, sending a gift to this society several years ago, he expressed his gratitude

for its efforts to preserve and hand down the records of the founders of his native State.

WILLIAM STEVENS PERRY.

William Stevens Perry was the Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the diocese of Iowa from his election in 1876 to his death in 1898. He was a descendant in the eighth generation, on his father's side, of John Perry, who came to this country in 1631 with John Eliot, the Apostle to the Indians. His mother was a sister of Bishop William Bacon Stevens of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the diocese of Pennsylvania. Bishop Perry was born in Providence, January 22, 1832, and died in Dubuque, Iowa, May 13, 1898, while on a visit there in the service of the Church. He was prepared for college in the High School of his native city. He became a member of Brown University in 1849. On the removal of his parents to Newton, Mass., in 1851, he transferred his academic relations to Harvard University, where he graduated in the class of 1854. He early developed a taste for church literature and history, which taste became later in life strong and dominant. His library when he reached his teens consisted of choice discourses of the Rev. Dr. McSparran and of some of the early divines of Massachusetts. When he died he had one of the best private libraries in his adopted State. In due time he acquired an eminent standing as a scholar, a divine and a historian, and was honored by degrees conferred by Oxford, Dublin and other eminent institutions. He was, as his productions show, an industrious and persistent student and worker. He was elected a corresponding member of this society in 1859. He appreciated the compliment and gave to the society a full set of his great work as the historiographer of the Protestant Episcopal Church of America, together with copies of most of his other works. Being duly qualified as the representative of his great-grandfather, Lieutenant Abel Perry of the Continental Army, he became a member of the Cincinnati Society of his native State, and on various occasions represented that institution with dig-

nity and honor. He was the president of the Society of the Sons of the Revolution, of Iowa. He had faith in historical studies and institutions as means of bringing about a higher order of civilization and manhood and did what he could for their promotion.

JOHN WINSLOW.

John Winslow, the subject of this memorial, became known and appreciated by this society November 16, 1886, when he read a paper before it, entitled, "The Trial of the Rhode Island Judges,—An Episode touching Currency and Constitutional Law." That discourse, which was subsequently published and extensively read, showed an acquaintance with Rhode Island history and an analysis of the facts in the case that gave great satisfaction. He was elected a corresponding member in 1887. Mr. Winslow read here a second paper December 15, 1896, entitled, "The Battle of Lexington as looked at in London before Chief Justice Mansfield and a Jury, in the Trial of John Horne, Esq., for Libel on the British Government." Mr. Winslow was born October 21, 1825, and died October 18, 1898. His early years were passed in Newton, Mass., where he enjoyed the educational privileges of that town. The crowning years of his life were spent mostly in Brooklyn, N. Y., where he long maintained the position of an eminent lawyer and historian. He was prepared for college at Phillips Academy, Andover, Mass. He entered Brown University in 1849, and, leaving there at the close of one year, became a member of Harvard Law School, where he graduated with distinguished honors in the class of 1852 with his life-long friend, Edward Lillie Pierce, LL. D. Belonging to a family that has come down from the time of the Mayflower, he uniformly showed himself worthy of his illustrious ancestors. He was one of the founders of the Long Island Historical Society. He devised the seal which it adopted, and was long a trustee, taking an active part in its proceedings. He was one of the founders and for years president of the New England Society of Brooklyn. To his liberality this institution is indebted for a complete set of that society's publications. To his inspiring

words and deeds the Rhode Island Historical Society owes a grateful acknowledgment.

GEORGE SEARS GREENE.

George Sears Greene was born in the village of Apponaug, Warwick, R. I., May 6, 1801, and died in Morristown, N. J., January 28, 1899. He was at the time of his death the oldest member of this society and one of the most distinguished members of one of the most distinguished families of this State. As an account of his varied and remarkable career may be found in most of our biographical encyclopedias, readers are referred to them for details. One of his monuments in this State is the Providence, Warren and Bristol Railroad, of which he was the engineer of construction and the first superintendent, from June 23, 1855, to April 30, 1856. His interest in his family line and in his State was unabated to the last. For a long series of years he has bidden defiance to the infirmities of age, devoting several hours each day to the task of compiling a genealogy of the various branches of the Greene family of Rhode Island. In this enterprise his energies were fully enlisted. His visits to this society's cabinet were many and his letters of inquiries on various points have been numerous. He usually entered this building with the elastic step of a young man, refusing to sit till he had surveyed the historical portraits and landscapes about the rooms. He was, during many of his later years, an active member of the New York Historical Society, serving on important committees and making valuable reports. He believed history to be an important means of improving the condition of society and the world, and regarded his efforts for its promotion with as much satisfaction as his military and engineering exploits. He was elected a corresponding member of this society January 15, 1849. Three sons survive: General Francis Vinton Greene, George Sears Greene, Jr., and Major Charles T. Greene, U. S. A., retired. It is hoped that the genealogical sketches to which his closing years were devoted may be soon issued from the press under the supervision of one of his distinguished sons.

ACTIVE MEMBERS—January, 1899.

ELECTED.

1895. Adams, John Francis
 1897. Adams, Stephen Ludlow
 1897. Addeman, Joshua Melan-
 thon
 1874. Aldrich, Nelson Wilmarth
 1890. Allen, Candace
 1890. Allen, Edward S.
 1876. Angell, Edwin Gorham
 1897. Angell, John Wilmarth
 1893. Angell, Walter Foster
 1897. Anthony, Edwin Perkins
 1880. Anthony, John Brayton
 1894. Arnold, Fred Augustus
 1889. Arnold, Frederick William
 1889. Arnold, Newton Darling
 1874. Arnold, Olney
 1877. Arnold, Stephen Harris
 1890. Atwood, Charles H.
 1893. Backus, Thomas
 1881. Baker, David Sherman
 1898. Baker, William Cotter
 1895. Ballou, Hosea Starr
 1890. Ballou, William Herbert
 1891. Barker, Frederick Augustus
 1890. Barker, Henry Rodman
 1872. Barrows, Edwin
 1886. Barstow, Amos Chaffee
 1890. Barstow, George E.
 1888. Bartlett, John Russell
 1879. Barton, William Turner
 1893. Bass, Bertha
 1883. Bates, Isaac Comstock
 1894. Bates, William Lincoln
 1898. Bench, Charles Horace
 1894. Bicknell, Thomas Williams

ELECTED.

1858. Binney, William
 1898. Bixby, Moses Homan
 1897. Black, Thomas Francis
 1890. Blodgett, John Taggard
 1894. Bourn, Augustus Osborne
 1891. Bourn, George W. B.
 1898. Bowen, Charles William
 1893. Briggs, Benjamin Franklin
 1894. Brown, Albert Waterman
 1883. Brown, Daniel Russell
 1883. Brown, H. Martin
 1893. Brown, Pardon Fenner
 1899. Brown, Robert Perkins
 1898. Browne, Keyes Danforth
 1896. Budlong, Joseph Albert
 1876. Bugbee, James H.
 1896. Bullock, Emma Westcott
 1884. Bullock, Jonathan Russell
 1884. Burdick, James
 1891. Burgess, Edwin A.
 1891. Calder, Albert Lawton
 1859. Calder, George Beckford
 1876. Campbell, Horatio Nelson
 1894. Campbell, John Park
 1898. Carpenter, Alva Edwin
 1874. Carpenter, Francis Wood
 1897. Carrington, Edward
 1897. Carroll, Hugh Joseph
 1889. Catlin, Charles Albert
 1894. Chace, Henry Richmond
 1888. Chace, James Hervey
 1880. Chace, Jonathan
 1880. Chace, Julian A.
 1879. Chace, Lewis Jenkins
 1892. Chace, Lucretia Gifford

ELECTED.

- 1868. Chace, Thomas Wilson
- 1857. Chambers, Robert Babcock
- 1884. Chapin, Charles Value
- 1892. Chapin, William Waterman
- 1883. Child, Charles Henry
- 1887. Claflin, Arthur Whitman
- 1895. Clark, Harry Clinton
- 1878. Clark, Thomas March
- 1897. Clarke, Jennie Miles
- 1880. Coats, James
- 1897. Cole, Isaac Saunders
- 1885. Collins, George Lewis
- 1892. Colwell, Francis
- 1890. Comstock, Louis Hall
- 1886. Comstock, Richard W.
- 1891. Conant, Samuel Morris
- 1872. Congdon, Johns Hopkins
- 1898. Cranston, Francis Augustus
- 1881. Cranston, James Edward
- 1894. Cressy, Oliver Sawyer
- 1891. Crins, William Henry
- 1876. Cushman, Henry Irving
- 1896. Darling, Charles Parker
- 1886. Dart, Edward Merrill
- 1891. Davis, Henry Richard
- 1894. Davis, John William
- 1887. Day, Albert Clifford
- 1894. Day, Frank Leslie
- 1894. Day, Henry Gould
- 1896. Dempsey, Henry Lester
- 1886. Dews, Joseph
- 1877. Dorrance, Sam'l Richmond
- 1888. Douglas, Samuel Tobey
- 1882. Douglas, Wm. Wilberforce
- 1897. Dubois, Edward Church
- 1875. Dunnell, William Wanton
- 1877. Durfee, Charles Samuel
- 1849. Durfee, Thomas
- 1890. Dyer, Elisha
- 1894. Dyer, Oliver
- 1873. Eames, Benjamin Tucker
- 1886. Earle, Charles R.
- 1897. Earle, Joseph Ormsbee
- 1896. Eddy, John
- 1856. Ely, Jas. Winchell Coleman

ELECTED.

- 1862. Ely, William Davis
- 1892. Farnsworth, John Prescott
- 1891. Field, Edward
- 1890. Fiske, George McClellan
- 1885. FitzGerald, Osmon Edward
- 1893. Flint, Susan Amelia
- 1891. Foster, John
- 1888. Foster, Samuel
- 1881. Foster, William Eaton
- 1892. Fredricks, William Henry
- 1897. Freeman, Joseph Wood
- 1898. Frost, George Frederick
- 1855. Gammell, Asa Messer
- 1875. Gammell, Robert Ives
- 1884. Gammell, William
- 1891. Gardner, Clarence Tripp
- 1889. Gardner, Henry Brayton
- 1889. Gardner, Rathbone
- 1891. Gifford, Robert Post
- 1894. Goddard, Elizabeth Cass
- 1881. Goddard, Moses Brown Ives
- 1880. Goddard, Robert Hale Ives
- 1895. Goff, Isaac Lewis
- 1883. Goodwin, Daniel
- 1891. Granger, Daniel Larned Davis
- 1893. Granger, William Smith
- 1875. Grant, Henry Townsend
- 1891. Grant, Henry Tyler, Jr.
- 1897. Green, Theodore Francis
- 1893. Greene, Charles William
- 1893. Greene, Edward Aborn
- 1876. Greene, Henry Lehre
- 1896. Greene, Isaac Chase
- 1877. Greene, William Maxwell
- 1895. Greene, William Ray
- 1896. Grieve, Robert
- 1892. Gross, John Mason
- 1872. Grosvenor, William
- 1887. Guild, Reuben Aldridge
- 1890. Hall, Emily A.
- 1878. Hall, Robert
- 1897. Hallett, William Bartholomew Von Weigher
- 1878. Harkness, Albert

ELECTED.

- 1874. Harrington, Henry Augustus
- 1898. Harris, Walter Douglas
- 1895. Harrison, Joseph LeRoy
- 1883. Harson, Michael Joseph
- 1889. Hart, George Thomas
- 1888. Hazard, Rowland Gibson
- 1881. Hersey, George Dallas
- 1873. Hidden, Henry Atkins
- 1892. Hopkins, Charles Wyman
- 1871. Hoppin, Frederick Street
- 1897. Hoppin, William Anthony
- 1897. Howard, Henry
- 1890. Howard, Hiram
- 1891. Howe, Marc Antony DeWolf
- 1885. Howland, Richard Smith
- 1898. Hoxie, Frederick Jerome
- 1882. Hoyt, David Webster
- 1889. Hudson, James Smith
- 1896. Huntsman, John Fletcher
- 1896. Isham, Norman Morrison
- 1882. Jackson, William Francis Bennett
- 1888. Jameson, John Franklin
- 1867. Jencks, Albert Varnum
- 1898. Jenckes, John
- 1898. Jenckes, Theodore C. M.
- 1897. Jenks, Henry Francis
- 1880. Jones, Augustine
- 1889. Kelly, John Balch
- 1880. Kenyon, James Stanton
- 1892. Kimball, Horace Arnold
- 1876. Kimball, James Madison
- 1892. King, Henry Melville
- 1884. King, William Dehon
- 1897. Knight, Amelia Sumner
- 1879. Knight, Edward Balch
- 1894. Koopman, Harry Lyman
- 1899. Lamont, Hammond
- 1890. Leete, George Farmer
- 1898. Leonard, Charles Henry
- 1897. Leonard, William Arthur
- 1895. Lillibridge, Byron Jesse
- 1892. Lincoln, Ferdinand A.
- 1894. Lingane, David Francis
- 1878. Lippitt, Charles Warren

ELECTED.

- 1898. Littlefield, Nathan Whitman
- 1891. Lord, Augustus Mendon
- 1892. Mason, A. Livingston
- 1877. Mason, Earl Philip
- 1892. Mason, Edith Bucklin Hartshorn
- 1877. Mason, Eugene Waterman
- 1896. Mason, Fletcher Stone
- 1877. Mason, John Hale
- 1894. Mathewson, Frank Mason
- 1891. Matteson, Charles
- 1889. Matteson, George Washington Richmond
- 1895. McCabe, Anthony
- 1891. McGuinness, Edwin Daniel
- 1891. Mead, William Bradley
- 1883. Meader, Lewis Hamilton
- 1890. Metcalf, Alfred
- 1876. Metcalf, Henry B.
- 1896. Miller, Horace George
- 1875. Miller, Augustus Samuel
- 1897. Mitchell, Frank Roscoe
- 1891. Moulton, David C.
- 1890. Moulton, Edmund T.
- 1899. Mowry, Arlon
- 1880. Munro, Wilfred Harold
- 1895. Newell, Timothy
- 1880. Nichols, Amos G.
- 1894. Nicholson, Samuel Mowry
- 1876. Nickerson, Edward Irving
- 1874. Nightingale, George Corlis
- 1897. Nightingale, Geo. Corlis, Jr.
- 1897. Noyes, Robert Fanning
- 1890. Olney, Frank Fuller
- 1879. Olney, George Henry
- 1888. Packard, Alpheus Spring
- 1885. Page, Charles Harris
- 1889. Paine, Charles E. (C. E.)
- 1894. Palmer, John Simmons
- 1890. Parker, Edward D. L.
- 1897. Parkhurst, Charles Dyer
- 1887. Peck, Walter Asa
- 1875. Pegram, John Combe
- 1898. Peirce, Clarence Eugene
- 1896. Pendleton, Charles Leonard

ELECTED.

- 1898. Perry, George Adelbert
- 1880. Perry, Marsden J.
- 1874. Persons, Benjamin Williams
- 1891. Phillips, Gilbert A.
- 1873. Phillips, Theodore Winthrop
- 1878. Porter, Emory Huntington
- 1895. Potter, Albert
- 1887. Preston, Howard Willis
- 1897. Randolph, Elizabeth Lyman
- 1894. Remick, Augustus
- 1896. Rhodes, Christopher
- 1891. Richards, Henry Francis
- 1891. Richmond, Caroline
- 1877. Richmond, Walter
- 1898. Rickard, Abbie Smith Weld
- 1891. Ripley, James Morrison
- 1898. Rivers, Mary
- 1881. Roelker, William Greene
- 1888. Rogers, Arthur
- 1890. Rugg, Henry Warren
- 1897. Sackett, Frederic M.
- 1896. Sawin, Isaac Warren
- 1874. Shedd, Joel Herbert
- 1881. Sheffield, William Paine, Jr.
- 1885. Sheldon, Nicholas
- 1898. Shepard, Elizabeth Anne
- 1879. Shepley, George L.
- 1896. Simmons, Egbert Wiltse
- 1894. Sisson, Henry Tillinghast
- 1897. Slade, Susan Elizabeth
- 1877. Slater, Horatio Nelson
- 1875. Smith, Edwin Augustus
- 1899. Smith, Richard W.
- 1897. Smith, Walter R.
- 1894. Snow, Louis Franklin
- 1869. Southwick, Isaac Hinckley
- 1885. Southwick, Isaac Hinckley, Jr.
- 1890. Spink, Joseph Edwin
- 1881. Spooner, Henry Joshua
- 1898. Sprague, Charles Hutchins
- 1888. Stark, Charles Rathbone
- 1879. Stiness, John Henry
- 1899. Stockwell, George Appleton
- 1881. Stone, Alfred

ELECTED.

- 1886. Sturges, Howard Okie
- 1894. Swarts, Gardner Taber
- 1896. Taft, Edward Padelford
- 1896. Taft, Orray
- 1856. Taft, Royal Chapin
- 1883. Talbot, Frederick
- 1874. Taylor, Charles Frederick
- 1896. Thayer, Edgar Sheppard
- 1881. Thomas, Charles Lloyd
- 1890. Thornton, George Mumford
- 1891. Thurston, Benjamin Francis
- 1889. Tillinghast, James
- 1898. Tillinghast, William Richmond
- 1899. Tinkham, William
- 1891. Tourtellot, Amasa C.
- 1890. Tower, James H.
- 1891. Traver, Adelia Elizabeth A.
- 1885. Updike, Daniel Berkeley
- 1896. Vincent, Walter Borodell
- 1895. Vinton, Frederick Arnold
- 1894. Von Gottschalck, Mary H.B.
- 1881. Vose, James Gardner
- 1898. Wardwell, W. T. C.
- 1899. Washburn, Mary Fessenden
- 1890. Webb, Samuel Herbert
- 1896. Webster, Josiah L.
- 1868. Weeden, William Babcock
- 1887. Welling, Richard Ward Greene
- 1894. Weston, George Franklin
- 1890. Whitaker, Nelson Bowen
- 1884. White, Stillman
- 1896. White, Willis H.
- 1874. Whitford, George Washington
- 1884. Wilbour, Joshua
- 1891. Wilbur, George Albert
- 1896. Williams, Alonzo
- 1881. Williams, Zephaniah
- 1895. Winship, George Parker
- 1891. Willson, Edmund R.
- 1888. Wilson, George Grafton
- 1897. Woods, John Carter Brown
- 1876. Woods, Marshall

LIFE MEMBERS—JANUARY, 1899.

ACTIVE.	LIFE.		DIED.
1867.	1872.	George Taylor Paine,	Providence.
1849.	1872.	Henry Truman Beckwith,	Providence. 1893.
1866.	1872.	William Greene,	Warwick. 1883.
1836.	1872.	Rowland Gibson Hazard,	S. Kingstown. 1888.
	1872.	Holden Borden Bowen,	Providence.
	1872.	Amasa Mason Eaton,	N. Providence.
1857.	1873.	James Young Smith,	Providence. 1876.
	1873.	Jarvis Bowen Swan,	Providence.
1870.	1873.	Benjamin Gladding Pabodie,	Providence. 1880.
	1875.	Albert G. Angell,	Providence. 1884.
	1876.	William Ely,	Providence.
	1877.	Hezekiah Conant,	Pawtucket.
1844.	1879.	Samuel Greene Arnold,	Portsmouth. 1880.
	1879.	Amos DeForest Lockwood,	Providence. 1884.
	1879.	Royal Woodward,	Albany, N. Y. 1882.
1878.	1880.	Charles Gorton,	Providence. 1898.
1874.	1880.	John Pitman Walker,	Providence. 1887.
1841.	1880.	Alexander Duncan,	Scotland. 1889.
1877.	1883.	John Pitman Mumford,	Providence. 1891.
	1883.	Thomas Poynton Ives Goddard,	Providence. 1893.
1873.	1884.	Henry G. Russell,	Providence.
	1885.	William Gordon Weld,	Newport. 1896.
	1885.	John Nicholas Brown,	Newport.
	1885.	George Peabody Wetmore,	Newport.
	1885.	Horold Brown,	Newport.
	1886.	John W. Danielson,	Providence.
	1888.	LeRoy King,	Newport. 1895.
	1889.	Charles Fletcher,	Providence.
	1890.	Julia Bullock,	Providence. 1894.
	1890.	Joseph Davol,	Providence.
	1890.	Mary Howland Knowles,	Providence. 1899.
	1890.	Joseph Banigan,	Providence. 1898.
	1890.	Walter Callender,	Providence.
	1890.	Arnold Green,	Providence.
	1890.	Lucian Sharpe,	Providence.
	1890.	John Ebenezer Troup,	Providence. 1896.
1881.	1892.	John Osborne Austin,	Providence.

ACTIVE.	LIFE.			DIED.
1858.	1892.	Richmond Pearl Everett,	Providence.	
1885.	1892.	George Gordon King,	Newport.	
	1892.	Belinda Olney Wilbour,	Bristol.	
	1894.	William Butler Duncan,	New York.	
1882.	1894.	Charles Henry Smith,	Providence.	
1871.	1894.	Rowland Hazard,	Peace Dale.	1898.
1866.	1894.	Horatio Rogers,	Providence.	
1874.	1894.	Thomas Jefferson Hill,	Providence.	1894.
1891.	1894.	Elizabeth Caroline Hill,	Providence.	
	1894.	Caroline Hazard,	Peace Dale.	
	1895.	James Tillinghast,	Buffalo, N. Y.	1898.
	1895.	Hattie Budlong Chaffee,	Providence.	
	1895.	Esek Arnold Jillson,	Providence.	
	1895.	Robert Rodman,	N. Kingstown.	
	1896.	Charles Phelps Noyes,	St. Paul, Minn.	
1875.	1896.	William Ames,	Providence.	
1889.	1896.	Hunter Carson White,	Providence.	
1873.	1896.	Charles Hart,	Providence.	
1858.	1896.	Amos Perry,	Providence.	
	1896.	Benjamin Franklin Stevens,	Boston.	
	1896.	John Peirce,	Providence.	1897.
	1897.	Elizabeth Francis,	Warwick.	
	1897.	Sally Francis,	Warwick.	
1850.	1897.	William Goddard,	Providence.	

HONORARY MEMBERS—JANUARY, 1899.

ELECTED.		RESIDENCE AT TIME OF ELECTION.
1868.	William Leete Stone,	Mt. Vernon, N. Y.
1868.	George Hannah,	352 W. 28th St., N. Y.
1870.	Charles Patrick Daly,	New York,
1880.	Carl Schurz,	Washington, D. C.
1888.	James Burrill Angell,	Ann Arbor, Mich.
1895.	Charles Francis Adams,	Boston.
1897.	Douglas Brymner,	Ottawa, Canada.
1898.	James Phinney Baxter,	Portland, Me.

CORRESPONDING MEMBERS—JANUARY, 1899.

ELECTED.

1838.	Henry Barnard,
1849.	Comte de Circourt,
1850.	George Sears Greene,
1858.	John Ward Dean,
1859.	Samuel Coffin Eastman,
1867.	Samuel Abbott Green,
1867.	Frederick Augustus Holden,
1868.	James Shrigley,
1869.	Ainsworth Rand Spofford,
1869.	Charles Jeremiah Hoadley,
1869.	J. Watts De Peyster,
1869.	Elbridge Henry Goss,
1869.	William Phineas Upham,
1870.	Samuel Arnold Briggs,
1870.	Charles Myrick Thurston,
1870.	Daniel Garrison Brinton,
1872.	Richard Eddy,
1873.	William Cothran,
1873.	Frederic Denison,
1873.	Edmund Farwell Slafter,
1873.	Benjamin Franklin DeCosta,
1873.	Albert Harrison Hoyt,
1873.	J. C. Holst,
1873.	J. G. Bowles,
1874.	William Whitwell Greenough,
1875.	Percy Daniels,
1875.	Thomas Fisk Rowland,
1875.	C. Mason Kinnie,
1876.	Phineas Bates, Jr.,
1876.	John Summerfield Brayton,
1877.	Richard Anson Wheeler,
1877.	Elmer Hewitt Capen,
1878.	Asa Bird Gardiner,
1878.	Robert Alonzo Brock,

RESIDENCE
AT TIME OF ELECTION.

Hartford, Conn.
Paris, France.
New York.
Boston.
Concord, N. H.
Boston.
Washington, D. C.
Philadelphia.
Washington, D. C.
Hartford, Conn.
New York.
Melrose, Mass.
Salem, Mass.
Chicago, Ill.
New Rochelle, N. Y.
Philadelphia.
Gloucester, Mass.
Woodbury, Conn.
Mystic, Conn.
Boston.
New York.
Cincinnati, Ohio.
Christiania, Norway.
Quebec, Canada.
Boston.
Worcester, Mass.
Brooklyn, N. Y.
San Francisco, Cal.
Boston.
Fall River, Mass.
Stonington, Conn.
Somerville, Mass.
West Point, N. Y.
Richmond, Va.

ELECTED.

RESIDENCE
AT TIME OF ELECTION.

1878.	John Austin Stevens,	New York.
1878.	Hiram Augustus Huse,	Montpelier, Vt.
1878.	Heussein Tevfik,	Constantinople.
1878.	Edward Floyd DeLancey,	New York.
1879.	Thomas Wentworth Higginson,	Cambridge, Mass.
1879.	Ray Greene Huling,	Fitchburg, Mass.
1879.	Edward Mavier de Montjau,	Paris, France.
1880.	Moses Coit Tyler,	Ann Arbor, Mich.
1880.	James Grant Wilson,	New York.
1880.	Alfred T. Turner,	Boston.
1880.	James Mason Hoppin,	New Haven, Conn.
1880.	Thomas Williams Bicknell,	Boston.
1882.	Carlton Albert Staples,	Lexington, Mass.
1882.	Wilfred Harold Munro,	Suspension Bridge, N. Y.
1882.	Leander Cornelius Manchester,	Lowell, Mass.
1882.	Charles Hyde Denison,	San Francisco, Cal.
1882.	Charles Henry Hart,	Philadelphia.
1882.	Frederick Clifton Peirce,	Rockford, Ill.
1883.	Stephen Denison Peet,	Chicago.
1883.	John Thomas Scharf,	Baltimore, Md.
1884.	Abner Cheney Goodell, Jr.,	Salem, Mass.
1884.	Adolphus Skinner Hubbard,	San Francisco, Cal.
1885.	Franklin Bowditch Dexter,	New Haven, Conn.
1885.	Peter Butler Olney,	New York.
1885.	Richard Olney,	Boston.
1885.	William Augustus Mowry.	Boston.
1885.	Albert Alonzo Folsom,	Boston.
1885.	Samuel Briggs,	Cleveland, Ohio.
1886.	Ebenezer Weaver Peirce,	Freetown, Mass.
1886.	John Russell Bartlett,	Washington, D. C.
1887.	Eaton Whiting Maxcy,	Troy, N. Y.
1887.	John Winslow,	Brooklyn, N. Y.
1887.	George Alfred Raikes,	London, England.
1888.	Samuel Smith Purple,	New York.
1888.	Edwards Amasa Park,	Andover, Mass.
1888.	Abby Isabel (Brown) Bulkley,	Brooklyn, N. Y.
1889.	William Henry Watson,	Utica, N. Y.
1890.	Franklin Pierce Rice,	Worcester, Mass.
1890.	William Harden,	Savannah, Ga.
1891.	Henry Fitz Gilbert Waters,	Salem, Mass.
1891.	William Warner Hoppin,	New York.
1891.	Isaac Pitman Noyes,	Washington, D. C.
1892.	Henry Herbert Edes,	Charlestown, Mass.
1893.	Clarence Winthrop Bowen,	New York.
1893.	Alfred Manchester,	Salem, Mass.

CORRESPONDING MEMBERS.

85

ELECTED.

1894. Laura G. Sanford,
1894. Charles Phelps Noyes,
1895. Oscar Solomon Straus,
1895. Stanislaus Murray Hamilton,
1895. David Fisher,
1897. William Ashmead Courtenay,
1897. Ellen D. Larned,
1898. Henry Sweetser Burrage,
1898. George Henry Greene,
1899. William Copley Winslow,

RESIDENCE
AT TIME OF ELECTION.

Erie, Penn.
St. Paul, Minn.
New York.
Washington, D. C.
Kalamazoo, Mich.
Charleston, S. C.
Thompson, Conn.
Portland, Me.
Lansing, Mich.
Boston.



ENOS HITCHCOCK, D. D.
Chaplain in the Revolutionary Army.

57

DIARY OF ENOS HITCHCOCK, D. D.,
A CHAPLAIN IN THE REVOLUTIONARY ARMY.

WITH A MEMOIR.

EDITED BY WILLIAM B. WEEDEN, FORMERLY CAPTAIN BATTERY C,
FIRST R. I. LIGHT ARTILLERY, AND CHIEF OF ARTILLERY,
FIRST DIVISION, FIFTH CORPS, A. P.

MEMOIR.

Enos Hitchcock was born at Springfield, Mass., March 7th, in the year seventeen hundred and forty-four. If we would learn the defects of the system under which he was educated, we should study the ideal picture which he imagined and portrayed in after years for the training of a family.¹

"The object of it (education) has been to teach *what to think*, rather than, *how to think*. The end of education, is, "to unfold the latent powers of the human mind, direct them "to suitable objects, and strengthen them by exercise; it is "the art of preparing children for the duties of life."

He graduated at Harvard College in 1767. He probably began preaching very soon, studying theology with the clergymen whom he assisted, for we have the following certificate, dated Aug. 18, 1768, from the ministers of Cape Cod.

"These may certify, y^t Enos Hitchcock A. B. having by "public Preaching and private Conversation (Brother Green "interlines in a tremulous hand 'so far as we are acquainted') "given us y^e Subscribers (Ministers of y^e Gospel in y^e County "of Barnstable) Satisfaction as to his Qualifications for y^e "Gospel Ministry & of his good Disposition in that way to

¹ Memoirs of the Bloomgrove Family, 2 vols., by Enos Hitchcock, D. D., 1790, p. 15.

"Serve and promote y^e Redeemers Kingdom; We recomend
 "him to y^e Work, Nothing Doubting (if providence spare his
 "Life) but that he will be a Blessing in the Chh."

Signed

JOSEPH GREEN Barnstable.	ISAIAH DUNSTER of Harwich
ISAIAH LEWIS Wellfleet.	CALEB UPHAM Truro
JOSEPH CROCKER Eastham.	JOSEPH GREEN JUN ^r Garm ^o
EDWARD CHEEVER Eastham.	NATHAN STONE of Yarmouth :

Evidently, he was solidly trained for his future career, as this certificate of progress shows. In May in 1771 he became the colleague of the Rev. Mr. Chipman in the Second Church at Beverly, Mass.

He was dismissed and recommended from the Church at Truro March 21, 1771. He married Miss Achsah Jordan of Truro.

We know little of his early pastorate. He must have been a diligent student, for in his late years he developed an elegant and agreeable style. He subscribed to the *News Letter*, as the receipts show. Among the items of bills for supplying his family, there are generous quantities of rum, sugar and claret, with moderate portions of coffee. There is no direct evidence that he yielded to the common weakness of making verses, but the following among his manuscript documents probably was of his own composition :—

"THE SAILORS NOTE FOR PRAYERS."

"I ROBERT DOWDNEY, bound to Sea,
 Desire you all to pray for me;
 That I may have propitious Gales,
 And be preserved from all Ails :
 From sinking down in mighty Deep,
 From too much work, and little Sleep,
 From Spanish-Rogues, and all disasters
 From wicked-Men, and Peevish Masters,
 From Whip, and Cudgell, Kick, and Cuff,
 From Knocks, and Blows and — that's enough."

"For the *Royal American Magazine*."

The war of the Revolution began its fateful course. Mr. Hitchcock served during the year 1776, though there are no diaries for that year. The only traces of this service are in three certificates dated at Ticonderoga, Oct. 21, 24, 25, 1776, signed by colonels Ephraim Wheelock, Ruggles Woodbridge and Jonathan Reed. These certify to his service as chaplain in these several regiments from Aug 10, to Oct 25.

When Burgoyne's expedition was mustering in Canada, New England was deeply moved by the impending danger, and by the urgent need of the country for men and the means of warfare, recruits swarmed to Ticonderoga and the northern borders; among them Chaplain Hitchcock, whom we shall accompany in the pages of his diary. The feeling of the community and the inspiration of individuals will be better comprehended if we cite Mr. Hitchcock's own words in reply to the representatives of his parish, after some experience of campaigning and camp life.

"The committee addressed him, as follows, "Dear Sir It gives us Enfinite Satisfaction, That so Favourable an opportunity offers It Selfe in which we can Express our minds to a Gentleman of your known candore and Ingenuity with whom we have Had the Honour of Converseing with=& Earnestly Hope By the Blessing of almighty God that we Shall Live to See Eatch other in Perfect Helth and Inioy that mutial Friendship that Contributes to the Hapiness of all Sosiety." . . . and as we have the Honour of aquaintting you By the Desire of the Parish= with what they have Done for you Relitive to your Support, For Carriing on the work of The ministry amongst us . . . at a meating of the twenty seventh of Augst Last Held By agornment the Parish Voted that from the Time you Return, To us to Preach amongst us you Shall Receive after the Rate of Four hundred Pounds for the Remainder of this Preasent year Sir we should Be glad to hear from you the First opertunity we have Nothing New to Enform you of your Family are all well and I thnke It is a general Time of helth in your Parish But Time would fail us to wright what our Inclinations Leads us To — in Short

"Sir our Harts are full and would over-flow in your Praise
 "Did we not and only Beg Leave to add our Sencere wish for
 "your Prosperity So we must Conclude and End with earnest
 "Pears for you and Subscribe our Selves your Sencere Frinds
 "The Committee"

" Dated at the Precinct of John Low Salem and Beverly"

" Sep^r the 5th 1778 "

Captain Low's rhetoric was somewhat ebullient, but he made it clear that the parish of Beverly respected the Rev. Mr. Hitchcock and respected themselves. The Chaplain replied in these words:

CAMP AT DANBURY Oct. 2nd 1778—

Dear Sir.

I receiv^d your very oblidging letter of Sep^r 5th, by Serg^t Dodge; by which I was advised of the doings of the parish respecting means of my subsistence with them; it gave me peculiar satisfaction to find that I was not entirely forgotten, by a people, for whom I have cultivated a sincere affection; & in whose service I am willing to spend my Life. tho I have stept aside, a little space, in the great emergencies of our bleeding country; that, if possible, I might have some influence with my fellow-countrymen, either by precept or example, to remain firm & steadfast in the Defence & support of their dear & Heavenborn Liberties; on which depends the happiness of ages to come — of generations yet unborn.

There was a peradventure also, that I might, by my presence & admonitions, give some check to the dangerous growth of Vice among our young people; who, I hope, will before long, return to dwell with the multitude of their brethren in civil life, & form no small part of the commonwealth. how unhappy must it have been for such a number of promising men to have lived amidst the many Temptations of an Army, for several years, without any public appearance or form of Religion? this would have rendered their return dangerous, lest they infect the whole flock.

Whatever may have been the sentiments of some; these weighty considerations have not been without their influence, in my conduct: & if the mite, I have, by my services, cast into the public Treasury, has had a desired effect; that consideration rewards all my toil & sufferings.

The considerable advances, the parish has made towards my support, as it shews their affection for & attachment to me, so it affords great encouragement to me to return; I hope, by leave of Providence, that happy period will ere long arrive—I must, for the present, beg their indulgence; as an example of leaving the Army, at this critical juncture, might have a bad appearance & ill effect; & is displeasing to the Gen^l unless in cases of great urgency.

The campaign is drawing to a close; & probably, we shall march eastward soon, when I can, with much more propriety than now, obtain a recess from the army.

That the peace of God may keep yours, & the hearts of the people; & preserve you blameless untill his coming—that we may all rejoice in his presence, being made happy in his favor—is the sincere wish & earnest prayer of—

Sir, your & their affectionate Friend

and Serv^t E. H.

Cap^t Jⁿ^o Low.

Preaching the gospel was a more important factor in the life of the army then than it is in modern times. Every opportunity was availed of, when direct military service would admit, to hold regular religious services. Sometimes two occasions are recorded for one Sunday.

These letters belong to a later period, but it seemed proper to consider them now, as their spirit pertains to the Burgoyne campaign. Mr. Hitchcock then served as chaplain to Patterson's Brigade of Massachusetts troops. In the diary there appears the account of the disastrous retreat from Ticonderoga. In the following list we perceive the losses of our chaplain and likewise an indication of the manner of living in camp at that time:—

Lost in Retreat from Ti=

Two Blankets—one pair of sheets—a double gown—1 Coat, 1 Waistcoat—1 pair Breeches—1 d^o overhaws—1 hat—1 pair shoes—four pair Stockins—1 Bible & Psalm Book, & several small volumes— $\frac{1}{2}$ c Sugar $\frac{1}{4}$ d^o Chocolate— $\frac{1}{2}$ d^o Coffee—15 Gallons best Rum—5 d^o best Brandy—1 dozen Nutmegs—1 quart Stotons Elixir—3 Bowls—one looking glass—2 Beackers—3 wine glasses—2 Cups & saucers—2 Knifes & forks—one large Spoon & a small d^o 1 pair saddle Bags—&c.

Among the documents are many bills for supplies from the Quartermaster's Department of the Army and from the Massachusetts Board of War. The following is an example :—

The Rev ^d M ^r Hitchcock		}	BOSTON January 30 1778	
bought of the Board of War				
Mo 23	2 pair Shoes	16/6	£1.13 -	
	1 pair Silk hose	—	1.16.8	
	2 pair worsted d ^o N ^o 9	6/2	.12.4	
	5 yards wooling Cloth N ^o 10	9/9	2. 8.9	
	6 yards Flannel	5/6	1.13.-	
	2 Linnen handk ^s	3/4	. 6.8	
	4 oz Silk	at 9/2	1.16.8	
			<hr/>	
			£10. 7.1	

Rece^d payment THOMAS IVERS Cash

We do not know the causes which led to severing the relations with the parish at Beverly. He resigned the connection April 6, 1780.

This letter from President Stiles, about three months later, shows that the step was taken in the regular progress of the clergyman's mission :—

YALE COLLEGE July 12, 1780.

Reverend Sir

By a Letter of 3^d Inst M^r Baldwin informs me that you would willingly settle again in the Ministry, where the Providence of God might open a Door for your Usefulness. There are so many vacancies in the Chhs that you must soon have this—Opportunity present you for doing good. Last week a gentleman from Hartfd Chh was with me in quest of a Candidate, and he has engaged M^r Prudden. I shall not fail to recomend you, Sir, if applic^a should be made to me by a place I can think agreeable to you.

If you retire from the Army, I perceive it is in contemplation that M^r Barlow¹ should supply your Chaplaincy. He has not yet preached; altho' I believe he will soon ascend the Desk. He is a young Gentlema'n of Learning Sobriety & ten thous^d Excellencies. His merit in Poetry & the belles Lettres & in the Sciences in general is great—so great that the World I fear will never do him justice. How he may succede in preaching I dont Know, but his Sensibility & Amiableness of Manners must certainly recomēd him.

I am Dear Sir

Your affectionate Brother in the Gospel.

EZRA STILES.

REV M^r HITCHCOCK

At intervals, when on leave of absence, Mr. Hitchcock had preached to the First Congregational Society in Providence, R. I. He was installed in that pastorate Oct. 1, 1783.

One diary of the parish life in the year 1784 exists—interleaved in an almanac published by Thomas. The incidents noted are generally of matters occurring in the parish, especially deaths and burials, and of the petty domestic affairs pertaining to any family. Occasionally something interests us now. He dined frequently at Governor Bowen's. On the thirteenth of March the river was opened, after having been closed by the ice for two months. In April, his daughter Achsah died at the age of eleven years. Rev. Joseph W.

¹ Joel Barlow, 6, 1758, was chaplain in the army, &c

Willard, president of Harvard College since Dec. 19, 1781, visited him often, and sometimes preached for him. He must be the "Rev Willard" occurring often in the correspondence from camp, as he was settled at Beverly in 1782. When Mr. Hitchcock went to Newport for "General Election" he dined with Mr. Channing, and in Boston he dined with Governor Hancock May 26. He was on intimate terms with President Manning of Brown University, and they often preached or lectured for each other. The parsonage (the house on Benefit Street, at the head of Church Street, lately occupied by George Owen) was raised June 28, and it was finished and the family entered into possession on the last day of the year. An "exhibition" occurred at the College July 7.

The Congregationalists of that day were liberal in the rite of baptism. On Sunday, Sept. 26, our pastor baptized *by immersion* William, the son of Colonel Nightingale. Monday he dined with Colonel, and on Tuesday with Doctor Nightingale. It was a season of rejoicing in that well-known family of the tuneful name.

From President Stiles' letter and various references in the diaries, we perceive a substantial intimacy and friendly intercourse between the families. Mrs. Stiles came to visit the Hitchcocks on the last day of September, and "set for home" Oct. 27; which was a fair sample of the genial hospitality prevailing in those fair days of Providence, unvexed by the locomotive whistle, and unfretted by the telephone bell.

After Mr. Hitchcock's work in the ministry and his patriotic service in the army, nothing interested him so much as the cause of education — the true development of the people, whether in the family or in the school. He delivered a discourse on education at a meeting-house on the west side of the Providence River Nov. 16, 1785, which was printed, and bears the name of Enos Hitchcock, A. M. His degree of D. D. was conferred by Brown University in 1788. He was always active in promoting free public schools. In July, 1791, he was on a committee with President Manning, Moses Brown, Jabez Bowen, and many prominent citizens, to forward this great enterprise.

At this time he was preparing his most elaborate literary work, the "Domestic Memoirs of the Bloomsgrave Family."¹ The distinguished Doctor Benjamin Rush, one of the most accomplished Americans of that period, gave his counsel, as appears in this letter. Our copy is in the handwriting of that excellent historical scholar, Doctor Charles W. Parsons:—

PHILADELPHIA 24th April 1789

Dear Sir

The Rev^d Mr. Rodgers* put into my hands a letter, in which you request my opinion respecting a work you have prepared for the press upon the subject of domestic education. I can only say that I am highly pleased to find that subject taken up by a gentleman of your principles & character in the literary world. The plan which you have chosen for your work will be new in this country. This perhaps may ensure it a more general reception, & more extensive usefulness.

The account you have given of the work is so short, that I am not at liberty to approve, or disapprove of it. I shall only remark, that by making only two children, the objects of all the parental care and instruction of the two principal characters in your book, you will be precluded from recommending those virtues & manners which are necessary to render family society between brothers & sisters useful & agreeable.—Should you introduce five or six children (which are most common in all families than of two) you may inculcate many excellent lessons of fraternal respect from the youngest to the eldest,—of protection from the eldest to the youngest,—of

¹ In a Series of Letters to a respectable Citizen of Philadelphia. Containing sentiments on a Mode of Domestic Education, suited to the present state of Society, Government and Manners, in the United States of America; and on the Dignity and Importance of the Female Character. Interspersed with a Variety of interesting Anecdotes. By Enos Hitchcock, D. D., 2 Vols., Thomas and Andrews 1790.

The volume in possession of the Rhode Island Historical Society bears the inscription, "Mrs. Goddard (mother of Prof. Goddard) From her Friend and Humble Serv^t The Author."

*[Probably Rev. William Rogers, B. U., 1769.]

delicacy, even in childhood, between the two sexes, and of affection, between them all. The rights of primogeniture so much esteemed among the Jews, I believe are founded in Nature & have their uses in every family. Where the eldest son or daughter is honored & preferred by parents, a family is never without government, in the absence of parents from home, and when these parents are removed by death, there is a foundation laid in the habits of the younger children for a continuance of subordination in a family,—a circumstance always essential to harmony and happiness.

In the management of my children, I have made two discoveries. 1st That it is as necessary to *reward* them for good, as it is to *punish* them for bad actions. Nay further—that rewards are of immense consequence in stimulating them to industry—virtue—and good manners. I was led to adopt this practice by contemplating the principles of action in man by which God governs his rational creatures. 2^{ly} I have discovered that all corporal corrections for children above three or four years old are highly improper, and that *Solitude* is the most effectual punishment that can be contrived for them. I have used it for many years in my family with the greatest success. My Eldest Son who is now near 12 years old, has more than once begged me to flog him in preference to confining him. The duration of the confinement, & the disagreeable circumstances that are connected with it, are proportioned to the faults that are committed. I have in one instance confined my two eldest sons in separate rooms for two days. The impression which this punishment has left upon them, I believe will never wear away, nor do I think it will ever require to be repeated.

Too much cannot be said in favor of SOLITUDE as a means of reformation, which sh^d be the *only* end of *all* punishment. Men are wicked only from not thinking. “O! that they would *consider*,” is the language of inspiration. A wheelbarrow—a whipping post—nay even a gibbet are all light punishments compared with letting a man’s conscience loose upon him in solitude. Company, conversation, & even business are the opiates of the spirit of God, in the human heart.

For this reason a bad man should be left for some time without anything to employ his hands in his confinement. Every *thought* should recoil fully upon *himself*.

If you can make any use of the hints that are contained in this letter, in your publication, you are welcome to them. They are founded in experience, as well as in nature, and if reduced to general practice, I am sure would be found to be very useful.

With great respect I am Dear Sir your humble fellow labourer in the presumptuous business of making the world wiser & better, and your sincere friend, and

Well wisher

BENJ^r RUSH

P S: Permit me to object to the *title* of your book: "Domestic Education, accommodated to the present State of Society, manners &c in america" will be more simple, and striking. Your name *must* be prefixed to it.—Anonymous books do not succeed well in this country.

The REV^d M^r ENOS HITCHCOCK
at Providence, Rhode Island.

"Sanford & Merton," so important in forming the youth of England, inspired by the teachings of Rousseau, was written and published by Thomas Day in 1783. It does not appear that our author had read it. He studied Rousseau and criticizes him somewhat freely, though he sympathizes with his general purposes in education. Lord Kames, whose "Loose Hints on Education" was published in 1781, was his safest guide. Kames' precepts, being condemned as "irreligious" by the Scottish Church, were welcome to a progressive Calvinist of New England, stimulated by the American Revolution. Hitchcock condemns Locke, cites Thompson and Gay, and warmly commends the course of Vice-President John Adams, in supporting education. The book is dedicated to Mrs. Washington with a very complimentary address.

The best part of the work is the evidence it affords of the

character of Doctor Hitchcock as a man, husband and father of a family. "He (the father) will never appear as an arbitrary ruler over them; but as an affectionate and benevolent patron. Influenced by the gentle spirit of Christianity, he "will banish from his breast all moroseness and peevishness, "which would embitter his own life, and render his family "unhappy."¹ The whole record of our author's life — meagre and broken as it is — indicates that this was a sincere and candid expression of the man's own effort in living. The book is not a good piece of literary art. Like so many writings of sensible men, it just fails in its highest effect. The style is agreeable and often elegant. All the theories and attempted methods are wisely conceived. But the new education does not breathe and live. The puppets Osander and Rozella are waxy little prigs, illumined by the impossible virtues of adults.

Doctor Hitchcock's relations with Brown University were very close and influential, as he was one of the most active Fellows. Sept. 9, 1785, he was on committee with the President and John Brown in correspondence with David Howell, M. C., to obtain an allowance "for rents and for "damages done the Edifice while occupied by the public."² In 1791 he preached the sermon at the ordination of Tutor Flint as pastor of the Second Congregational Church in Hartford, and the discourse was published.

In this year Hitchcock, in common with the citizens of Rhode Island, met a great loss in the death of his friend and coworker, James Manning, occurring July 29.³ He was made chairman of the committee with John Brown and George Benson to confer and condole with Mrs. Manning on the death of her "late worthy husband." The funeral ceremonies were held in College Hall July 30, and Doctor Hitchcock preached the sermon.

In this main office of his profession he was distinguished, being an "excellent preacher," as the records say. Among his printed discourses were one on National Prosperity, from

¹ Domestic Memoirs I., 27.

² Brown University and Manning, Guild p. 419. ³ Ibid., p. 495.

the *Farmer's Friend*, in 1793; on the death of Jonathan Gould, in 1793; on the dedication of meeting-house, in 1795; on the death of E. Fiske, 1799; and on the death of Washington. We shall annex a sermon preached at West Point, not as indicating the power of the preacher, but to show the method of the time.

Dr. Hitchcock published a catechism for children and an essay upon the Lord's Supper.

Our diarist, surviving his friend Manning twelve years, died Feb. 27, 1803. He bequeathed \$2,500 for the support of the ministry in the First Congregational Society. When the present church was built, in 1816, the society placed a tablet on the wall, embodying their sense of gratitude to their "faithful pastor and munificent benefactor."

Though these scattered incidents are meagre, they suffice to portray a man of the Revolutionary time. He was a type of those Puritans, who walked with God in this world. Never forgetting his clerical mission or the priestly sanction, he was always a citizen; trying to mould this present life in preparation for a future, which was constant and actual to him. His ministry, lasting a score of years, left indelible marks. The parish had not been long organized when he took it in charge, and it became one of the most prominent and most influential institutions in our growing city. When the Unitarian movement occurred, it became a powerful unit in that body. When the Civil War struck home to the foundations of society in New England, the ministrations of our revolutionary chaplain bore direct fruit. Eighty-four men went out from the First Congregational Church; fifteen of these died from wounds or exposure. The list is somewhat remarkable in that forty-seven officers, viz., two Major Generals, three Brevet Brigadier Generals, six Colonels, four Majors, eleven Captains, nineteen Lieutenants, one Chaplain, and one Surgeon were included in the muster. Verily, the shepherd had trained and had led his flock in the ways of patriotic sacrifice. When the country labored in the agony of those fateful years, the children's children of those to whom Hitchcock had ministered offered themselves on one common altar.

The chaplain was larger than the soldier; the teacher and

minister larger than the chaplain; and the man was largest of all. If we were to put into one word the impressions derived from these records, it would be, "fidelity to duty." He was faithful, and he tried to make faithful those for whom he was responsible.

A DEVOUT SOLDIER:

A SERMON PREACHED AT WEST POINT, JUNE 23, 1782;

AT PROVIDENCE, FEBRUARY 2, 1783.

There is an observation of long standing & worthy our particular notice. "That since the necessities of mankind require various employments, whoever excels in his own province is worthy of praise. All men are not educated after the same manner, nor have all the same talents. Those who are deficient deserve our compassion & have a title to our assistance. All cannot be bred in the same place, nor to the same employment; but in all places and employments there arise, at different times, such persons as do honor to their society, which may raise envy in little souls, but are admired & cherished by generous spirits."—Spet^r. Vol. 6, No. 432.

When we find examples of this kind carefully handed down to us thro' a long succession of time, their names embalmed to perpetual memory in the trusty page of history for faithfully filling up their station, & by some qualifying virtue raised & established their character—when I say, we find such instances, it should excite in us an emulation to get possessed of the same—& there is no condition, among the various ranks of men, without an example of this kind, from the general in chief thro' the various grades to the soldier.

The one I now have in view is applicable to the latter, & is given to us in Acts x. 7., "A devout soldier."

Great and pompous characters usually fill us with admiration, &, at unawares, steal from us a respectful attention, even tho' the person was destitute of every private virtue, while

those who have moved in lower orbs, but filled their little circle with every usfull virtue, have passed scarcely noticed.

Alexander, stiled the great, has long been exalted as a great general—deified as the conqueror of the world, in carrying his conquests from Macedonia to Egypt—by invading, with unprovoked hostilities, cities & kingdoms, & turning peacefull countries into seas of blood, leaving the wretched widow & helpless orphan to bewail, in dismal strains, their miserable condition. His miliary atcheivements were great, but they were such as marked him as the murderer of mankind.

And while such a character is justly doomed to everlasting infamy, here is one written to eternal fame. How much more worthy of your attention & imitation was his character, who, in a small sphere, used all his abilities to no other purpose than the faithful discharge of his duty required. This was the case of the soldier of the Italian band I have just mentioned, the honorable testimony given of him, was that he was “a devout soldier.”

This character can not belong to anyone who only feels some slight impression upon his mind of his obligation to the Deity—or if it breaks out into enthusiastic zeal & ends in idleness & neglect.

But a full conviction of the uncreated goodness & excellence of the supreme Being—& of our infinite obligation to love & obey him—the exercises of a mind thus impressed will be those of profound reverence for the divine Majesty, the warmest gratitude for his infinite benefits, & an unrepining submission to his will, & a steady endeavor to do all the duties & offices which arise from our particular station. This all goes into the composition of a devout character.

This is the only solid basis for the practice of virtue & the enjoyment of happiness.

And where this principle lies as the foundation of men's actions, those subsequent virtues never will be wanting which happily conspire to form and dignify the character, & that which has the brightest assemblage of social virtues united to the greatest degree of moral goodness, is most worthy of imitation.

As filial piety is the first suitable exercise of the child to the parent & the only principle that can secure a uniform regard to the other members of the family, so piety or devoutness to God should be the main spring of all our pursuits. We should consider this as the first and strongest obligation upon us, & make it the leading feature of our character—the others will fall in of course. Love and reverence to God are duties so just & important that no character can be complete without them. Tho' a person may be distinguished by many useful & excellent qualities, tho' he may, in some respects, be entitled to great honor & respect, yet, if he is wanting in affection & reverence to his kind parent & benefactor, his character is essentially defective & all his boasted dignity greatly tarnished—the bubble of popular applause may soon burst & disappear, or the next turn of the wheel may plunge as deep in disgrace. We need not search ancient record for instances of this—they come within our own knowledge.

But whoever would fix his character on an immovable foundation, must unite the love he owes to the great disposer of all events to the service he does for his fellowmen. When his usefulness proceeds from this principle it will be steady & permanent, & his dignity rise on this sure ground, which will baffle all the assaults made upon it—in him will be verified that proverb, "He that walketh uprightly walketh surely," & does it appear a thing unreasonable or impracticable that we should act on principle of piety and devotedness to God? nay, can we not more easily follow the dictates of reason & conscience than oppose them? & no one opposes the will of the Deity but opposes the information of his own mind—he acts contrary to the dictates of conscience—but he who obeys the will of the Deity only follows enlightened reason & the voice of conscience.

Now if we wish to act with honor & fidelity in our stations amidst all the changes of life, if we desire to quit this stage triumphantly & leave a spotless character to speak for us when dead; then we must settle down in our minds as a first principle, that as we are the rational offspring of God, we should in all our conduct have a primary regard to him, & next to his

creatures. In doing this we are pursuing the road of honor, interest and happiness.

Under the influence of this principle we shall ever pursue the line of our duty, whatever our business or employment in life. As we stand equally related to the Deity & are equally accountable to him for the part we cut in this life, so, when animated by this consideration, we shall feel equally the obligation to discharge the duties of our own province; for it extends with the same force to one as to another, & is suited to influence in every station & condition in life, & who is governed most by it will be most steadily usfull, entitled to most honor & respect from men, best satisfied with himself & receive the highest approbation of him who is a "God of Knowledge."

It was this principle that actuated Cornelius, commander of the Italian band. "He was a devout man, & one that feared God with all his house, who gave much alms to the people, & prayed to God always." The Deity was the first object of his regard; and from thence flowed benevolence to men. He carefully walked before the people of his commune in the fear of God; not only avoided vice before them, but taught them, by example & probably by precept too, to regard the Deity as the primary object of love & reverence, & that this ought always to be a main spring of their actions.

Nor was so excellent an example without its good effect upon the troops under his command. The sacred historian is very particular in mentioning one whose piety and attention entitled him to the distinguishing epithet of *A devout soldier*.

Actuated by this principle he would of course be led to discharge every part of his duty faithfully, & in order to do this he must in the first instance understand his business, he must be acquainted with his profession, both the principles & practice of it; otherwise he will be in danger of committing such errors as will expose him to shame & the public to injury. The art military, like all other arts, is to be acquired only by industry and attention. To be unacquainted with the duties of our profession, or bunglers in it, is disgraceful indeed, & no character reads worse than that of a bad soldier, because great consequences depend on his skill & expertness.

Being acquainted with his duty, he applies diligently to the discharge of it. 'Tis the part of a good soldier ever to obey military commands with cheerfulness, & execute his orders with great punctuality & exactness—to be patient and persevering under the hardships & difficulties of his profession. He will never suffer himself to be led astray by the crafty designs of those who attempt to promote sedition & mutiny, nor ever betray the important trust reposed in him by deserting his colours. An army should always be a band of brothers who have entered into a close alliance with one another as well as allegiance to the public, & consider that their mutual safety depends on their adhering strictly to the principles of the compact they entered into to each other, & the whole to the public. Whoever betrays his trust to the public or the confidence you have placed in him, either by desertion or mutiny, is your worst enemy; he disappoints your expectation, does all in his power to destroy the government & strength of the army, & exposes you to all the ill consequences of such conduct. He strikes at the very being of the army, & is virtually the murderer of it. Therefore your interest and safety strongly point out the necessity of your discovering any such execrable person, when known to you, that the designed injury may be prevented.

But courage is another thing which goes into the composition of a good soldier's character. All the heroes of the field in old time were called mighty men and valiant; not so much because of their bodily force as because they were men of firm and resolute minds, animated by the martial fire, determined by the sense of duty. He will face danger with an undaunted firmness of mind, nor ever perfidiously desert his post, or basely decline the fierce encounter of the field.

These are the leading features of a good soldier's character, & all these must have belonged to the devout soldier of the Italian band. He sought to know his duty &, knowing, did it with cheerfulness—just and benevolent among his fellows, faithful to his trust, obedient to command, vigilant in duty, & brave in the field. He was all this upon principle, that is, he believed in the Deity & was actuated by a sense of moral obli-

gation. His love to & reverence of his Maker animated him in the duties of his station.

And, pray, was this a blemish in his character, that he act upon this stable & uniform principle? Did it lessen his military virtues because he acted upon moral principles? or rather, did it not give lustre & dignity to them & fix his character upon a sure & permanent basis?

But, surely, in modern times this maxim is changed, & he who would be a good soldier must be a bad man—must forsake the ways of virtue, sink himself into intemperance, profaness and every vice. This is a very gloomy reflection indeed, that men must abandon that principle which alone can secure their fidelity & make them happy, in order to be good soldiers! The plain English of this idea is, that a man must renounce that principle which would prevent his becoming a deserter, a mutineer, a murderer, or falling into intemperance, profaness & every species of debauchery, to become a soldier! This would indeed add to the horrors of war, if to be soldiers men must class themselves with infernal spirits!

The present vicious state of our army affords a most melancholy consideration! It must appear so to every person of thought & reflection who considers the fatal tendency of vice upon society, & that when the minds of men are freed from the restraints of a moral nature the political safety is endangered—for surely he who can trifle in the most sportive manner with the Deity & disregard the very first law that is upon him (love and reverence to his Maker) can easily be brought to violate his obligations to men.

It affords a very gloomy prospect to see so many young persons who were the hope of their parents, & might have been the ornaments & pillars of their country, sink into vice & sensuality, lost, not only to a sense of virtue, but of common modesty & decency, giving themselves up to the foulest blasphemies, defying the God that made them, with oaths and curses abusing the hand which feeds them, sporting themselves with the name of the everlasting God & continually invoking the thunderbolt of wrath upon their guilty heads! But, you say, perhaps you have no meaning in all this, or that you are in

sport! A pretty apology! Will you offer this to your Maker when you fly to him in the hour of trouble? will you plead it at the bar of his righteous judgment? No meaning! & so the vilest things become innocent because done without meaning. But if this was the case, how happens it that this want of meaning always produces that vulgar, unpolite, hacknied sound of profanity which does so much dishonor to the manners of our army? The tree is known by its fruit.

As to its being in sport, men must have arrived to a most horrid pitch of wickedness who can trifle with the great Governor of the universe, his perfections & government.

If you were governed by the principle which actuated the devout soldier there would be an end to all these vile practices which tarnish the character of an army otherwise so respectable. Your social & military virtues ought to derive stability & lustre from religion. To the distinguished character of a patriot & a soldier it should be your highest glory to add the more distinguished character of a virtuous, good, man—then you can quit this stage in the full blaze of honor & receive a crown of glory infinitely higher than ever adorned the head of the greatest conqueror.

DIARY.

1777.

April 8. Set from home.¹ Very hot. Dined Newall's, reached Waltham.

9. Lodged Rev^d Cushing. Set off about nine oclock; dined Hows Marlboro.
10. Lodged Baldwin's Shrewsbury—Arriv'd at Brookfield.
11. Received of Capt Greenleaf 60 Dollars to be sent to his wife—paid him ten for my share of Tickets No.

¹ On his preliminary journey to the station at Brookfield.

- 3014 & 3015.¹ —Officers set off for Ti— about Ten o'clock—Fair Day.
12. Inoculated² about 10 o'clock A. M. took mercurial pill in evening, pleasant
 13. Sunday. Took physick before sun rise—pr^d for Rev. Ward Ps. 103, 19 & 122. 6 & on—rained P. M. in evening very fast—took pill.
 14. Cold & windy—took pill
 15. took powders in morning. Cold and windy took pill in evening.
 16. Wrote to Mr. Shaw & Polley—weather moderated—took pill—paid Brother Moses 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ LM.
 17. took powders—rainy—took pill
 18. took pill—
 19. took physick—went to Hospital—
 20. Sunday. Rev^d Fish pr^d at Mrs. Walker's—
 21. fair Day—
 22. Symptoms came on, very drowsy, took an emettick.
 23. very poorly—but keep about—
 24. began to break out—
 25. more pock—
 26. more still—
 27. Sunday. rainy—feel poorly—
 28. pock begin to fill up—
 29. very sore—but little rest—
 30. began to turn—Sore throat.

May 1. Soreness abates—Day of public fasting.

2. eat boiled fowl—
3. eat fowl harshed over with Sallet—
4. Sunday. dined freely on boiled Chicken—

¹ This is only the beginning. The reader may be surprised as he discovers how often our exemplary and devout clergyman bought Lottery Tickets. The custom prevailed at that time, and all classes participated in it freely. The states granted lotteries constantly for all sorts of enterprises, and the Continental Congress (Stiness, R. I. Hist. Tracts, 3, 45) raised money for the war by this means.

² This method for preventing small pox preceded Jenner's vaccination.

5. Came out of Hospital to Rev^d Ward's—
- 6.
7. visited at Capt. Keys's —rainy—
8. Rev^d Marsh & others came to be inoculated.
9. lowry, rained some
10. lowry
11. Sunday. Brookfield Rev^d Ward's, Matt. 16, 26, Is: 57, 21—Rev^d Fisk came from Hospital.
12. Pleasant Day.
13. very cold for season—
14. went to Worcester & returned, met with Col^o Littlefield, pleasant Day.
15. Set from Brookfield¹ 3 o'clock P. M. oated at Patterson's, Ware, reached Dwight's about dusk—pleasant Day.
16. Lodged at Dwight's Belcherton wrote Home by Post, rains, set of about ten—oated at whites 7 miles past ferry between 3 & 4—dined at Lyman's Northampton—went to Mr. Brecks & Dr Hunts—
17. Lodged at Lyman's Northampton, set forward 6 o'clock breakfasted at Edward 5 miles—oated at Pierces in Chesterfield 5 miles—dined at Agars Worthington 5 m—reached Daniels's 3 m—Showers—bad Roads—good Land.
18. Sunday. Lodged at Daniels Worthington, pleasant morning—set of about 7 o'clock reached Clarkes about ten, 7 m. Gageboro, roads bad, Land good—half after two o'clock reached Staffords 7 m, of New Providence, Roads begin to be better, pass^d Hoosuck

¹ In his journey to the theatre of war, our chaplain, accompanied by Colonel Littlefield, went through Ware and Northampton, taking a line between the Boston and Albany and the Hoosac Tunnel routes. He passed through Chesterfield and Worthington, thence near the Hoosac Mountain. From Williamstown he turned northward by Pownal and Bennington in the "York Government," now Vermont. Through Rupert and Granville he rode on to Ticonderoga, between Lakes George and Champlain.

Mountain, fine Land—at dusk reached Jones Hoo-suck 7 m—fine Land, roads better—

19. go on, thro part of Williams Town to Pownal in y^e borders of York Gover^t, oated Tracey's, 6 miles, 10 o'clock—Roads tolerable—Land good a pleasant River—dined at Cap^t Billings Benington 8 m—
20. Lodged at Fay's Benington 2 m—oated at Galutias in Shaftsbury—dined at Cornfields in Allenston, 8 miles—oated at Frenchs, Manchester 7 m—
21. Lodged at Man ly^s in Dorset 6 m—oated at Smiths Ruport 5 m—dined at Latherbees Powlett 5 m, oated at Hickbees 5 m—
22. Lodged at Corees in Granville 5 m—throw woods 5 m—oated at Grangers Skeene 4 m— reached Skeene about 5 o'clock, roads very bad, put up at Averys—
23. Lodged at Averys, breakfasted at Cap^t Wakines—Set off from Skeene 10 o'clock, wind Contra, arrived at Ticonderoga 6 P. M. fair Day.
24. Dined upon flowr puding & Venison Steak.
25. Sunday. Heard Mr. Cotton A. M. Mr. Plumb dined with us upon roast & stewed Venison, 6 o'clock began Service interrupted by the floating away of y^e Bridge, very warm.
26. Generals Poor¹ & Patterson,² Col^{os} Baldwin, Scamel,³ Wilkinson & Hays dined here. Pudding, Veal &c.
27. Rained in morning. Prayers oमित—fair Day—

¹ Enoch Poor, of Andover, Mass., in the words of Washington, "had every claim to the esteem of his country." He was appointed colonel after the battle of Lexington, and brigadier-general February 21, 1777.

² John Patterson, of Berkshire, Mass., received the news of Lexington at noon. At sunrise next morning his regiment of minute-men was on the march to Cambridge. His commission as brigadier bears date February 21, 1777.

³ Alexander Scammell, of Mendon, Mass., Colonel Third New Hampshire. He was wounded at Freeman's farm, and much commended for conduct in the field. The fair-minded Gordon (II. 549) praises his coolness as well as his courage. He was mortally wounded at Yorktown. He was beloved for his amiable qualities.

28. Wrote Home by a Marblehead man, very warm—receiv^d Letter from Home 19 May—the Enemies fleet discovered a little below Split Rock—General Patterson supped with us upon fish—
 29. Very warm, some Cannon heard down y^e Lake—nothing further appears—
 30. Went up to y^e Landing to see Mr. Leach—not well—very hot—
 31. Wrote Home by Parsons No. 2 & to Rev^d Willard with a thirty Dollar Bill Cap^t Whitcombe¹ brings up an account y^t y^e Enemy are gone down y^e Lake—very warm—
- June 1. Sunday. No Service A. M. dined at the Generals²—Letters from General Gates inform of Col^o Meigs^s capturing 70 men on Long Island & destroying some Stores also y^t the Troops in Canada are going to the Southard—Divine Service at Six o’Clock 1 Chron 19, 17, very warm.
2. Rained a little last Night, cleared of this morning pleasant, a cool Southerly wind—Went to the Landing P. M. Mr. Leach better—wrote Home No. 3, by a person going to Lynn—fair, pleasant Day—
 3. Wrote Home by the Post No. 4, the Field officers sent a memorial of their grievences to the general Court—Col^o Brewer³ & I wrote to the Rev^d Mr. Foster—Showry—drank Tea at Col^o Marshals⁴—
 4. Receiv^d of Paymaster twenty pounds—paid Col^o Fran-

¹ Captain, afterward Major, Benjamin Whitcomb, of Connecticut, a famous partisan officer (Rogers, Hadden. pp. 4-9, 42 n., etc.), the fruits of whose scouting operations will frequently appear. General Gates spoke of him as “a most usefull officer” (MS. in N. Y. Hist. Socy. Rogers’ MS. Notes). He was accordingly hated by the British and Tories.

² At Brigade Headquarters, General Patterson’s, probably.

³ Samuel Brewer, of Framingham, Mass., wounded at Bunker Hill, was authorized to raise a regiment for service at Ticonderoga. He was Colonel Twelfth Massachusetts Continental Regiment, 1777-8.

⁴ Thomas Marshall, of Boston, commanded the Tenth Massachusetts Regiment.

cis¹ six pounds, my proportion of the Stores together with 2^{lb} 8^s 6^d paid before; paid Col^o Littefield 2^{lb} 18^s 5^d Expenses on the Road paid Cap^t Porter 30 Dollars which I borrowed to send Home—cool westerly wind—fair Day—a Pickeril sent us two feet & $\frac{3}{4}$ long²—

5. Bought q^r Venison at 9^s—Col^o Hale³ dined with us upon fish & a Venison Stake—officers of the Brigade turn^d out to exercise agreeable to orders—drank Tea with Major Hull—Head ake—no Prayers—fair & pleasant.
6. The morning opens very fine but we happened to lay in Bed till almost Eight o'Clock—slept very sound after a fine Supper of Venison Stakes, this may seem strange, but it cured my Head ake—fair & pleasant, dined upon roast Venison Stuff—
7. A Soldier in Col^o Marshals Reg^t set on y^e Gallows $\frac{1}{2}$ an Hour & receiv^d 100 Stripes for enlisting twice & deserting. Col^o Hays dined with us upon Venison Soop & c fair & pleasant—Report of y^e Capture of y^e Milford.
8. Sunday. Divine Service at $\frac{1}{2}$ past ten A. M. Mr. Plumb pr^d Exod: 15, 3, present Col^o Marshals—Brewers & Francis's Reg^{ts}; at $\frac{1}{2}$ Six P. M. pr^d myself Ps: 119: 115, fair and pleasant, but something warm and dry—
9. Went fishing up east Crick—News from Canada—by

¹ Ebenezer Francis, of Beverly, Mass., commanded one of the fifteen battalions which were assigned to Massachusetts by Congress Sept. 16, 1776. He was a gallant officer, respected alike by friend and foe. "No officer so noticed for his military accomplishments and regular life as he was."

² As our Chaplain was a fisherman himself, we must not scrutinize his measurements too closely. Fish stories carry their own ethics in every generation.

³ Nathan Hale—not to be confounded with "the spy" of glorious memory—was Colonel of Second New Hampshire. He was afterward taken prisoner at Hubbardton, and his conduct there was much questioned. He died in captivity. His case is fully treated by Rogers in appendix 15, *Hadden's Journal*.

two Frenchmen, y^t Burgoine¹ arrived 10th of May without Troops—y^t many of the Soldiers had died—the Hessians uneasy—500 French imprisoned for refusing to enlist—300 at Isle la Noix, 200 St Johns, a Reinforcement of 4000 expected—cloudy A. M. cleared of P. M.

10. Wrote Home p^r Post No. 5, & to Rev^d Fisk—dined on Fish, fair & pleasant, purchased two tickets No^s 57111669 & 70 jointly with Cap^t Greenleaf.²
11. Radishes with breakfast—fine roast Beef for diner glorious news of Gen^l Washington's gaining a compleat Victory over the Enemy at Bound Brook³—no particulars—fair pleasant Day—something dry—

¹ John Burgoyne, Colonel Sixteenth Dragoons, Major-General in the army and Lieutenant-General in America, commanded the expedition from Canada and finally surrendered at Saratoga his splendid little army. A brilliant and superficial officer, popular in court circles,—having made a successful dash of cavalry in Portugal,—he was sent to America, where so many military reputations acquired in Europe have been wrecked. He had neither the breadth of intelligence nor the character required for an important campaign. By comparison with the home government, he succeeded in Canada and New York, in that their conduct of the campaign was worse than his management. See Rogers, *Hadden's Journal*, pp. lxxx., 387.

² Captain Moses Greenleaf, of Newburyport, Mass., our parson's partner in the lottery business, was a gallant soldier. Commissioned as Lieutenant early in 1775, in December he was made Captain to raise a company for the Continental line. This was mustered in the Eleventh Massachusetts, under the splendid Ebenezer Francis. The company suffered severely in the hottest of the battle of Hubbardston. The brave Greenleaf was in many hot fights during the whole revolutionary struggle, yet never wounded. He was (MS. in Massachusetts Historical Society, Greenleaf Papers, Rogers' Notes) "about six feet high, broad-shouldered, erect and well-proportioned, with dark-brown hair, a high and open forehead, piercing dark-hazel eyes, and a large aquiline nose. His step was measured and firm, and his whole bearing martial and commanding. His character, which was formed in the field and camp, remained unchanged through life. He was altogether a soldier, and nothing but a soldier." The picture of this complete soldier and our earnest devoted clergyman participating in lotteries is not without interest for every generation.

³ A false report. Washington outgeneralled the enemy, and Howe afterward retreated, but there was no general action.

12. Wrote home No. 6, by Mr. Plumb, to Mr. Foster & Mr. Hall—General Sinclair & Formay arrived in Camp about 9 o'Clock, rained in the Morning—purchased two Tickets No. 57,674 & 58,449 jointly with Col^s Francis & Littlefield & Major Lithgow—sent my Journal¹ Home to this date.
13. Mr. Plumb set off for Boston at 4 o'Clock P. M. Showry—two persons bro^t in supposed to be Spies, who give an account that the Enemy are coming up 10,000 strong.—
14. The Regiment past muster—visited the Hospital at Mount Independence, the new Hospital about one third covered—250 long & 24 wide—warm and pleasant—
15. Sunday. Divine Service at Six o'Clock, P. M. Matt. 16, 26.—pleasant—
16. Capt. Page &c arrived—receiv^d Letters by Him from Master Herrick to the 30th of May, fair & pleasant.
17. Wrote Home No. 7, & to Mr. Plumb by Post—visited Hospital A. M.—the Camp alarmed about noon by some firing without the Lines—two men were taken & some killed near M^cIn toshes by some Indians, who were pursued by Scouts, who on their return met with Lieut Taylor who went out yesterday with a party of twelve men which was suddenly encompassed by them, exchanged several Shots wounded the Lieut: who escaped with two men, the others killed or taken—one dead Body found bro^t in belonging to Col^o Hale's Reg^t —
18. This morning 8 of Lieut Taylors men came in, one swam over the Lake—another Col^o Hale's men found in M^cIntoshes field—General Schyler² came into

¹ It is unfortunate that the Journal was not preserved, even if the diaries had been lost. Many of the meagre entries indicate that important matter had been treated accordingly elsewhere.

² Philip Schuyler, of Albany, was a Major-General in the army. He commanded at Fort Edward when Ticonderoga was evacuated by St. Clair. He did not appreciate the quality of the New England troops, and excited the hostility of that section. He lacked the "soldier's eye"

Camp to-day—Major Lithgow¹ went to Fort George on Court Martial—Rev^d Allen of Pittsfield came into Camp.

19. One Harris of Col^o Hales Reg^t killed by an accidental discharge of his own Gun—this morning Cap^t Whitcomb came in who went out yesterday, bro^t an Indian Skalp killed by Taylors party—dined on roast Beef—fair Day—spent the evening in writing Letters by Cap^t Raymond—
20. Wrote Home N^o 8 & to Rev. Forbes Mr. Herrick & Brother David—Major Hull dined with us upon Roast Beef &c—Cap^t Raymond set off for N. England; fair Day—
21. Appointed Chaplain² to gen^l Pattersons Brigade—fair Day—
22. Sunday. Major Lithgow returned from Fort George, bro^t dispatches from Gen^l Washington to Schuyler, giving an account of the Enemies getting to Morrisania—confirming the late reports from Canada &c. fair Day but no Service, the men on fatigue & moving into Tents—
General Schuyler left Camp—
23. Dined at Gen^l Poors—receiv^d a letter from Rev^d Ward p^r Post—(Major Hull, Cap^t Gray & others dined with us—
24. Col^o Meads came into Camp about 12 oClock last

¹ William Lithgow, born in Georgetown, Maine, was a Major in the Continental line. He was known as an ardent patriot. After the war he was U. S. Attorney in Maine.

² Chaplain Smith (Guild's Life, p. 191) had a list of twenty-one Brigadier-Chaplains, dated Aug. 17, 1778. Hitchcock's name was included.

and lost the confidence of his troops. Congress superseded him by Gates early in August. Gates was his personal enemy, and, though "sensible of the indignity," Schuyler showed great nobility of character and firm loyalty by doing everything to forward the work of his successor.

Night, informs that the Enemy were very near Crown-point at Sundown—The morning opens fair & very warm—warm all Day—

25. Col^d Marshal dined with us—
26. Some men fired upon by Indians one killed & Skalp'd, one Skalp'd & came in wounded in several parts, a Shower P. M.
27. Rained last Night attended with much lightning—A Report of a number of Indians going to Skeene—very warm work upon our House—Shower at noon—
28. An account of two large Vessels sailing down the Lake—turned out at Gunfiring attended Prayers on the Brigade parade before Sunrise—warm Day—about Sunset one of their Vessels was discovered this side five mile point by a boat of ours & three a little below, upon seeing our Boat (80 Rods distant) they hoisted two, chased & fired upon it, several fires were exchanged which soon communicated to y^e guard Boat who gave the Signal & an Alarm was fired—about half after 9 °Clock, I had just got into Bed, but immediately turned out & went parade, found the Brigade generally turned out & very Spirited—dismissed at half after eleven to lay on arms—Lieut^t Huax deserted to the Enemy—
29. Sunday. Rise at gunfiring ($\frac{1}{2}$ past 2 °Clock) nothing happened¹ Attended prayers, dismissed at Sunrise, men all on Duty—
30. Alarmed at (blotted) °Clock last Night by firing from the Picket guard—it proved false—about 7 °Clock the guard Boats coming in—8 a number of Enemies Boats heave in sight, alarm Guns—Several Cannon discharged at the French lines at a party of Indians & others—Some Musketry with! the Picket drove

¹ One of those silly camp alarms, especially common among new troops and new organizations. Early in the Civil War General Burnside published a sensible and stringent order enjoining officers against the needless night-alarms which so often occurred.

in—at noon men dismissed to get Refreshment—sent our Bagage to Mount Independence—towards Night two Ships, several Sloops a large number of Gun Boats & others stretch across the Lake within one & ½ mile of the Jersey Battery—Mr. Shaw came in with other Posts a little before Night, received Letter from Home No. 3, Rev^d Foster & Fish & Brother David—extreme Hot—

- July 1. No disturbance last Night. Attended prayers before Sunrise—the Enemy *in Statu quo*—good news from Gen^l Washington of the defeat of Howe's Army, that Gen^l Sullivan was in possession of Brunswick, Gen^l Green in possession of an advantage post between that & Amboy—and that the Enemy were fleeing precipitately—some firing at the mills—
2. The Mills & Block Houses evacuated as not tenable & burnt—about 2 o'Clock—
four Boats¹ came towards the Jersey Battery—one Cannon discharged at them, three Signal Guns from the Enemies Ships—the Lines were soon made about three o'Clock a firing between the Picket & a party of Indians & Regulars it lasted more than half an Hour the Picket retreated with the loss of about five killed & Six wounded most of them brought in—the Enemy followed up till Col^o Francis Reg^t fired over the Parapet some twice, some three Times—some Cannon was discharged at them they soon retreated—the men dismissed about Six o'Clock—one Regular Soldier was taken—two Hessians deserted came to Mount Independence—they say the Enemy are 5600 strong.
3. A peaceful Night, things *in Statu quo*—about 700 Malaria came into Camp P. Mr Hibbert with them—

¹ According to Lieutenant Hadden (Rogers, p. 82) "The British Troops disembarked on the Tyconderoga side about Four Miles Short of it; and the Germans on the Mount Independence side." This was two small corps of Germans retained with the British.

the Enemy¹ get possession of Mount Hope—Some Cannon fired at them opposite the Jersey Battery very warm—

4. The Enemy at work² on the rising ground fronting French Lines several Cannon fired at them—extreme hot—
5. Wrote Home by Mr. Shaw No. 9, the discovered on the Mount S. W. of Ti—some firing towards night—wind came in Cool & Crisp at 5 P. M. at N. W.—about 6 °Clock came for every man to furnish himself with 24 rounds Extra & five Days provision, the Bumb drew in Shore & boats approach the Jersey Battery—at seven orders came for every man to be under Arms & march to their respective Alarm Posts—about nine orders for all to be ready with all their Effects to obey further orders³—with great Reluctance I left our new dwelling at past nine came over to Mount Independence, got the Baggage down to the wharf & put it on board the Schooner & Gundeloe
6. Sunday. at three °Clock hoisted Sail under a very small breeze with all our Vessels & set off for

¹ Frazer's Corps, under command of Major-General Phillips.

² July 4th. Hadden (p. 84) says the British made a road to the top of a high mountain called Sugar Loaf Hill. "This height commands both *Mount Independence*, and *Tyconderoga*—The former at the distance "of 1600 yards, and the latter at 1400." To leave such a position not defended was a singular oversight on the part of our commanding officers. It was claimed that we had not men enough to fortify the place. It was a gross blunder, for, on the third, one of St. Clair's aids promised Washington "the total defeat of the enemy." Bancroft, Vol. V., 160. St. Clair himself had said, "Should the enemy attack us they "will go back faster than they came."

³ Lieutenant Hadden (p. 84) agrees that it was on the night of the fifth that "the Rebels 3 or Thousand in number abandoned their Works at "Tyconderoga and Mount Independence leaving behind them all the "Guns, Stores, and Provisions, except 300 Barrels of Powder on board "one of their Vessels." Our chaplain gives a graphic sketch of his experience in the movement.

Skeene—the Land Army march at the same time for Castleton, Col^o commands the rear Guard 500 men—arrived at Skeene two Clock P. M. in about an Hour the Enemies Gun boats came up & fired at one of our Row gallies, a brisk & mutual Canonade followed for near half an Hour during which time I was imployed amidst flying ball in getting some of my baggage on board a boat above the falls, which with difficulty I effected & put off up Wood Crick the shoalness of the Water & many loggs in it render it extremly difficult passing in boats; set off between three & four °Clock & with much difficulty & hard labor, working all Night in the water we reached Fort Ann about

7. At ten °Clock, some boats in our rear cut off by Savages, the men mostly got in, but scattering partys continue to come in—about noon a Skirmish happened between a small Scouting party & a few Indians & some regulars we lost three, killed & four wounded,—some Stores came in from Fort Edward—fair Day—
8. Rested comfortably last Night, the Garrison was alarmed once but I did not turn out—about 9 °Clock a scouting party of a 100 men was sent out to go down the Crick to recover some lost Bagage, but soon met with a party of regular Troops about 300 a brisk firing came, 60 more went to reinforce them & then 30 & 20 more—the engagement last an Hour & half very warm—our loss was 10 killed and wounded—the Enemies supposed to be 40 or 50 killed and wounded, our men drove them from a little Breast⁼⁼ they had built up a hill—four of the Enemy were bro^t in, viz D^r Ciely of Lord Leigoniers Reg^t well—Cap^t Mongumery¹ wounded in the Knee & two privates dangerously wounded—a Council of war²

¹ William Stone Montgomery, Captain in the Ninth Foot British, was “an officer of great merit.” He died in captivity.

² Chaplains did not generally attend at councils of war.

was called at which I was present, it was agreed upon to evacuate to the Garrison considering the weak State it was in as to ammunition, & the large Reinforcement we had authentick assurance was on their way to the Enemy—left Fort Ann in flames between three & four o’Clock P. M. travelled without Stopping to Fort Edward 14 miles in a heavy rain reached it at dark—

9. Lodged at Col^o Snuths—General Fellows went for Fort Ann with a 1000 men—the fragment of our Army at this place in great Confusion without covering—news of our main Body being at Castleton on Monday & of an Action there between Col^o Warners Reg^t & some Indians & Hessians—cloudy most of the Day—about Ten o’Clock found quarters at Mr. Jaleds—bo^t ½ a Lamb—
10. Lodged at Mr. Jilled’s, attended Prayers with Cap^t Farnum’s men, Major Livingston came in from our Army brings account of an Action¹ between our rere guard & about 1400 Enemy, considerable loss both sides—also of Col^o Francis fall in the field—an Account of some Enemy at Fort Ann, but Gen^l Fellows who went out yesterday with 600 men is about 4 miles this side it—very warm—
11. Cap^t Farnum was sent out a Scout with 40 men, on hearing some Enemy were betwixt this Fort George—a 100 loads were bro^t fr^m thence yesterday as many gone for to Day—about 150 Maletia came in P. M. Accounts that the Enemy’s main Body are at Skeene—rain^d from 5 o’Clock till Night—
12. Rained all Night—Cap^t Farnum returned, made no discovery—Gen^l Nixon’s² Brigade arrived (800) and

¹ The battle of Hubbardton occurred on the morning of the seventh. It was a sharp contest. In all the wretched business of this retreat, there was no greater loss than that we met in the death of Ebenezer Francis. We cite Anburey’s testimony: “whose death, though an enemy, will “ever be regretted by those who can feel for the loss of a gallant and “brave man.”

² John Nixon, of Framingham, Mass., served at Louisburg in 1745.

encamped on the high land to the N. W. of the Fort¹ the Gen^{ls} from Ti⁼⁼ arrived, the Army left at Fort Miller—some Maletia came from Berkshire County, they are all on the move—

13. Sunday. Rained last Night—two prisoners bro^t in who say the Enemy have left Skeene & returned to Ti⁼⁼; that 15 officers were bro^t dead, to Skeene; no service; lowry Day
14. The parts of Regiments from Skeene ordered down to Moses Crick five miles below Fort Edward—came down about 5 o'Clock P. M. Gen^l Poor's Brigade came up from Fort Miller—recciv^d Letter from Mr. Plumb—wrote Home No. 10.
15. Went down to Fort Miller to see our people found them comfortable—dined at Gen^l Pattersons, a per-

¹At Fort Edward the American army rested; after a time, being reorganized and reinforced, it regained confidence. Washington made every sacrifice, freely risking his own campaign, to secure ultimate success for the Northern army. He sent in reinforcement Arnold, who was then a gallant man, and Lincoln, who had the confidence of the Eastern troops. Morgan's corps of picked riflemen was one important reinforcement. An excellent Brigade, under Glover, from the Continental line, was taken from the central army, which could ill spare it. As has been stated, the ill-fated Schuyler was replaced by Gates early in August.

But a chief factor in turning defeat into victory developed through the incapacity of the enemy. Burgoyne's attack at Ticonderoga, his pursuit to Hubbardton and Skènesborough was capable and energetic. This was his last forcible or judicious conduct. Instead of moving around to Lake George and following by the old roads and easy water communication, he halted a fortnight. "Britons never recede." Therefore he must cut a direct road some twenty-eight miles through dense forests and morasses to Fort Edward,—“Forty bridges” and one “log-work” of two miles through morass indicate the toilsome work. He wore out his victorious legions in these midsummer labors, while his defeated rival was recovering strength.

He was at Lexington and Bunker Hill; at Stillwater he commanded the First Brigade of the Massachusetts line.

son taken up for a Spy in Camp—two Waggons cut off between $\frac{1}{2}$ way & 5 mile Brook—Maletia come in fast—fair Day—

16. Lodged on the floor at Mr. Day's—Rev^d Lyman came into Camp—Fort George evacuated—
17. Wrote Home No. 11 & to Mr. Foster, our Brigade came from Fort Miller up to the Island—
18. An Express from Col^o Warner that he has retreated to Allington—wrote Home No 12 by Mr. Yancey moved from Mr. Days down to Gen^l Pattersons opposite Chuylers alias Pattersons Island where the Brigade is encamped—fair Day
19. Gen^l Poor &c dined upon roast mutton & green peas—warm—
20. Sunday. Divine Service¹ at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 10^o Clock on Patterson Island among the Trees, Neh: 4, 14 A.M. the Brigade generally attended; two regulars & two Tories bro^t in prisoners taken by some of our Indians 6 miles beyond Fort Ann—Gen^l Poors servant & Col^o Cilleys Son sent into Camp—Receiv^d a Letter from Rev^d Cutler by the Post.
21. Letter from Lieu^t Chadburn gives account of the Prisoners at Ti= Dodge, Raymond &c among them—rained last Night, fair Day Col^o Putnams Reg^t came in—
22. Wrote Home No 13, to Rev^d Cutler & Brothers; Gen^l Fellows lodg^d here last Night is going Home with part of the Maletia—

¹ Religious observances in campaigning often leave much to be desired. When circumstances favor, the result accords happily. We may imagine that this beaten army on this quiet Sabbath "among the trees" responded to the war-note, "Be not ye afraid of them," from the prophet of Israel. The present writer recalls an equivalent experience in our Civil War. The command had been engaged at Bull Run, losing heavily. Ordered to Point of Rocks, Md., it commemorated its first quiet Sabbath, among the trees. A private soldier (since distinguished as a civil engineer) preached, not after the manner of Israel's fiery prophet, but with the fervor of a true Christian.

- Gen! Arnold¹ came by & dined with us, fair Day
23. Twenty of our men taken about 7 miles this side Fort Ann Yesterday moved into Gen! Patersons new House on the Island, dined on an excellent Loin of mutton.
 24. Walked up to Gen! Nixon's Brigade—two men killed a little above them towards Fort Edward by some Indians—dined on pig—receiv^d a Blanket of the public Stores—receiv^d of Mr. Conant 20^{lb} two months pay, paid Adjutant Francis 46 Dollars on the Col's Account.
 25. Wrote Home N^o 14, by the Adjutant; went down to Fort Miller, dined with D^r Hale, no occurrences—fair Day
 26. Six brass field pieces arrived in Camp—rained P. M.—we were alarmed about 2 °Clock by an attack at Fort Edward—The Enemy, supposed near a 1000 crept up & by Surprize fir^d on the Picquet Guard, kill^d & Scalped them, the Guard retreated & were pursued within 40 Rods of the Fort took away two women from the House, killed, Scalped & mangled one in a most inhumane man^r; four are missing;
 27. Sunday. Divine Service at 11 °Clock, A. M. Is: 57, 21, at 5 P. M. Ps. 53, 1. Some further accounts of what hap ned at Fort Edward Yesterday—the Lieut: who commanded the Piquet, Van Vechten, was killed, scalped & cut his Hands off—& otherwise mangled—The two Women, Mrs. Jenny M^cCray² & Widow Cambell were going to meet the Enemy for protec- tion, when they came up to them were shot &

¹ Benedict Arnold, of Norwich, Conn., Major-General in the army, whose infamous treason is too well known. Brave and erratic, rash and destitute of moral principle, he was a comet among patriots.

² The murder of Miss Jane Maccreea was like many other Indian atrocities, but it shocked the whole civilized world. Burke used the story with thrilling effect in the House of Commons, when he arraigned the government for employing savages.

Scalp^d & most inhumanly boochered—the former found yesterday the other to Day—the advance Body of the are on the flat about the Fort supposed about a 1000—

28. An Express from Fort Edward about break of Day, say they are Surrounded; the account afterward proves groundless Wrote Home No. 15 per Post—Genl Nixon's Larnerd's¹ & Tinbrook's² Brigade came down from Sneaks Creek, Larnard's encamp^d by Moses Creek—Nixon's on the rise N. E. of River—Brooks on S. W. Side. A Scout returned towards eveng—who went out yesterday, who give an account of a horrid murder of a Family about four N. E. of Fort Miller: the Father, Mother & six Children killed and left to be torn by the Hogs—Major Lithgow returned from Albany—
29. Col^o Brewer with 150 men sent to Fort Miller to scout the woods N. E. Col^o Cilley³ with the same number from Moses Creek to go east & meet them—about 9 o'clock a man & Boy killed & one wounded near Fort Miller by two lurking Fellows who contended about the Scalp of the Boy; the man not Scalp^d; 11 o'clock a small party y^t went out back of Head q^{rs} about $\frac{3}{4}$ of mile were fired upon by Indians one Corp^l killed, private wounded—about the same time an Indian fired upon a Centry N. E. from Genl Nixon

¹ Ebenezer Learned, of Framingham, Mass., was a captain in the French War. He led the third Massachusetts Regiment to Cambridge the day after the battle of Lexington. Congress commissioned him a Brigadier-General April 2, 1777. He was thanked with General Poor in Gates' order of September 26th for "the valiant behavior" of their brigades at Freeman's Farm.

² Abraham Ten Broeck, of Albany. He commanded a brigade at the battle of Bemis Heights.

³ Joseph Cilley, of Nottingham, N. H., afterward General, commanded the first N. H. Regiment. He was an active officer who distinguished himself at Bemis Heights, was at Stony Point, Monmouth, and in Sullivan's expedition against the Indians, serving through the war.

Brigade; wounded him in the Neck—a Small Scout 20 came in, which met with a party of Indians supposed 70, fired & killed one & ran—about 12 o'clock alarmed by an Express from Fort Miller that they were attacked by a number of Enemy but proved—one of our Spies came in who says the Enemy had almost cleared the road from Fort Ann which we had blocked up—by one of our men who deserted from the Enemy informs that they have 7500 encamped at Skeene who are to come forward as soon as possible—our number now about 4000—

30. In Council of war held at six this morning it was determined upon to retreat¹ to Surratoga—our Brigade was ordered to decamp immediately the huts to rafted which was done, we left the Island at 12 o'clock, soon reached Fort Miller, one-half of the Brigade tarried there, the other came down to Mr Niels 3 miles I came with them & down to Genl Schuylers—Genl Fornays² & Tinbrooks Brigade attacked in their rear by a party of the Enemy, one of ours killed, one of Genl Arnolds Aid de Camps wounded & two or three others—no great done—

¹ This was a good movement, bringing our army nearer to its natural base and carrying the enemy farther from his.

² Fornay stands for Roche de Fermoi (or Fermoy), a Colonel from the French army, made Brigadier-General by Congress. We have drawn more blanks than prizes in our European officers, and Fermoi apparently was of the former sort. St. Clair's friends charged him with the worst casualties in the retreat from Ticonderoga, in that he fired his quarters at Mount Independence, thereby exposing the rear to Frazer's pursuit. "One of the worst of the adventurers was this very General Fermoy, who brought disaster upon the rear of St. Clair's army after the successful retreat from Ticonderoga." Smith's St. Clair, I., 65 n.

Gates dismissed Fermoi with a letter to Hancock September 14, 1777, containing this shrewd diplomatic praise: "I have much respect for the "Long Service and Rank of General Fermoi and wish circumstances "had made it convenient to have retained him here." (Gates' MS. Papers, N. Y. Historical Society. Rogers' MS. Notes.)

Gen! Lincoln¹ came up—met with Mr Shaw at the Barracks, Letter from Home & Rev^d Morrel & Brother David—

31. Lodged at Gen! Schuylers² went up to Mr. Niels the Army pass^d down the other side, except Gen! Poors Brigade which stopt here—Gen! Glovers Brigade³ arrived at Surratoga—

August 1. Lodged at Mr. Niels last night; the Brigade came down & encamp^d by the Barracks, 2 Miles, Gen! Glover & Col^o Wigglesworth⁴ came in—heard of D^r Leonards suicide, one man wounded & partly Scalped the east side of the River—rained a little

2. Lodged last Night with D^r Wingate—Mrs. Ranken cut Her throat—Capt Whitcombe came in after a weeks scout with four men, observed the Enemy's movements from Skeene, they arriv^d at Fort Edward to Day—fair Day—

3. Sunday. Wrote Home N^o 16, by Mr. Shaw—we were alarmed about 7 oClock by some firing towards M^r Niels. Major Hull commanded an advance party there they were surprized by some Indians as they were coming off, Gen! Paterson with His Brigade & part of Glovers were to support them, in mean Time

¹ Benjamin Lincoln, of Hingham, Mass., was a Major-General in the army, and after September 29th was second in command under Gates. He had fair military ability and great force of character.

² Schuyler's house was afterwards the scene of Burgoyne's last orgy, in company with his mistress and military friends. In the morning he ordered it fired with the barn; for which he has been much censured. Other critics, not partial to him, claim that the burning was a military necessity. See Kingsford History of Canada, VI., 262-3. The story of the supper, commonly received, is disputed in Baxter's note to *Digby's Journal*, p. 43.

³ Of the Continental line.

⁴ Edward Wigglesworth, of Ipswich, Mass., was commissioned Colonel of Thirteenth Massachusetts Regiment November 6, 1776. He resigned March 10, 1779.

a party of 40 was sent out about 2 Miles S. W. were attacked by some Tories, some were killed, some wounded—Major Hulls party lost three, some wounded—the Brigade return^d from Mr Niels P. M. the Army set from Surratoga between 4 & 5 °Clock, we marched thro' the mud & some rain till 12 °Clock when we arrived at Still Water, encamped on the wet ground—

4. Mr. Shaw set off this morning—an alarm at 9 °Clock occasioned by some Inhabitants moving in—two Tories bro^t in taken about 6 miles East, with passes & Certificates, in Arms—fair Day—
5. Rained most of the Day—by a prisoner who deserted from Ti= we learned that one of our people had found a pocket Book, belonging to a British Officer in which was found a return of all they had lost in the several Skirmishes since our Retreat—viz—at Houghberton 292 killed & died of their wounds—at Fort Ann 96, many officers among them; also that they could find only 19 dead among our Slain—four Tories bro^t in bound one of which is a Clergyman—
6. Visited the Hospital—considerable rain—began to break ground on the flat—no remarkable occurrences
7. Drew from the Store one pair Shoes two of Stockings &c receiv^d a Letter from Rev^d Ward dated July 23^d very warm Col^o Long¹ & Reg^t left Camp—
8. Alarmed this morning by a Major with two Boy & a Waggon being taken east side of the River bound to Cambridge—from deserters from the Enemy—a Sergeant & three privates, Hanoverians left Fort

¹ Pierse Long, of Portsmouth, N. H., of Irish stock, whence so much of our fighting blood has come, Colonel first N. H. Regiment. He repulsed the ninth British in the action of July 7th (see Stone's Burgoyne, p. 26), under Lieutenant-Colonel Hill. On the surrender at Saratoga, Hill stole the colors of his regiment, secreted them in his baggage, and carried them home. For this service he was appointed aid to the king. See Rogers' note, Hadden, p. 90.

Edward last Monday—inform that the Enemy have 6500 there, that they are preparing to come on but much embarrassed for want of Carriages—P. M. a young man & his Father coming to Camp on the east side the was shot & Scalp^d—Cap^t Warren who went out in the Morning with a Company Infantry, fell in with about 12 Indians He having advanced with only 4 men, briskly, engaged them held his Ground, lost one & killed an Indian & bro^t in his Scalp—

9. Cap^t Warren receiv^d the public thanks of the Gen^l for his spirited behavior yesterday Excessive hot; news of an Engag^t near Fort Schuyler—
10. Sunday. No Service, not well to Day—warm—
11. Wrote Home N^o 17 & to Rev^d Ward per Post—very warm—
12. Gen^l St^l Clair set of, for Philadelphia—Gen^l Larnard & his Brigade marched for Fort Schuyler—Gen^l Lincoln came to Camp—very warm a Shower
13. Gen^l Arnold set out for Fort Schuyler—very warm
14. Showry very warm, no remarkable occurrence, to Day Col^o Brewer went out to Scatter rock after Cattle
15. Rained last Night, agreeable to Gen^l Orders the Army turned out at 2 °Clock, threw their Boards together in heaps—about Six set Still Water¹, marched to half Moon where we arrived about 4 °Clock P. M. rained most of the Day—Gen^{ls} Glover Nixon & Poors Brigades stoped at the Landing 6 Miles below Still Water, our Brigade came past two Branches on to Van Schoicks Island—
16. Lodged at Mr. Van Shoicks an Elegant House on an Island of best Land formed by the 2nd & 3rd Branch of the Mowhawk River—this morning a despatch ar-

¹ This was the last backward movement of our army. After Gates took command he returned to Stillwater. At Stillwater we rested, and when the enemy finally advanced to Freeman's Farm, he received his fatal repulse. Bancroft, V., 181, puts the place nine miles above Albany.

rived from Bennington¹ informs that Gen^l Frazer with his flying Camp was within 5 miles of the Meeting House; that we were almost round them—Mr. Plumb came into Camp P. M. by whom I received Letters from Home & Rev^d Willard—

17. Sunday. No Service to Day, the men all employed, received Letter from Phebe Parsons, Gen^l Lincoln—marched to the Grants—
18. Wrote Home N^o 18, by Mr. Davis of C^{ap}_{arm} to Rev^d Willard, Cousin Phebe & Brother Moses—An Express from Bennington inform that they had an Engagement that we had taken 400 prisoners & four Field pieces—
19. By Express this morning have following list of Prisoners taken at Bennington, viz—1 Lieu^t Col^o —1 Major 8 Cap^{ts}—14 Lieu^t 4 Ensigns—2 Cornets—1 Judge Advocate—1 Baron—2 Canadian officers—6 Surgeons—37 British Soldiers—398 Hessians—38 Canadians—151 Tories—4 Brass Field pieces—80 killed—200 wounded & fell into our Hands— Gen^l Gates²

¹ Burgoyne's expedition under Colonel Baum to Bennington was badly planned, and worse executed. Lieutenant Hadden aptly says (*Journal*, p. 136) that it was unjust to lay the whole fault on Breymann—who was much blamed for his tardy march in support—"when almost every person concerned seems to have had a principal share in the disaster." It was the beginning of the end of the British. They not only lost guns and prisoners, but the more essential loss of opportunity to buy from the country horses and wagons, which were badly needed.

The action had many elements of romance. Stark disobeyed orders, or he would not have been there, to cut off Baum. His apothegm dooming Molly Stark to widowhood was worth a song of Homer to the States. In his report, he said, "we have returned a proper compliment in the 'above action for the Hubbartown engagement.'" It was one of the few successes of militia against regular troops.

² Horatio Gates was a Major-General born in England and a godson of Horace Walpole. He was regularly trained in the British army, taking part in Braddock's expedition. He is entitled to credit for good generalship in securing the surrender of Burgoyne, as will appear. He commanded also in the worst defeat of the whole war, which occurred at Camden. His intrigues against Washington, seeking the chief command

- arrived into Camp this Evening—visited the Hospital—new City—fair & pleasant Gen^l: Nixon's & Glovers Brigades came on to the first Island—
20. Gen^l: Schuyler let Camp, bound to the southward—went to see the great falls said to near a hundred feet perpendicular—catch out in a heavy shower—
 21. Col^o: Brewer, who was sent with the women to guard Stores to Bennington, returned with 40 Tories taken in the Action there—Returned to Mess with Col^o: Littlefield extreme hot
 22. Very hot to Day—visited Hospital at new City—
 23. Two Tories bro^t in
 24. Sunday. Divine Service at 5 °Clock P. M. 1 Cor: 15, 19. Receiv^d a Letter from Mr. Foster per Post—Wrote Home N^o: 19 & to Mr. Foster by Post—4 Hessian deserters¹ bro^t & 4 Waldeck prisoners taken

¹ Desertion troubled Burgoyne as his order shows August 21, 1777 :

"The general zeal of this Army in the cause of the King and the British constitution, is too apparent to admit a suspicion of the crime of Desertion, ever entering into the men's minds, except when they are intoxicated, or imposed upon by Emissaries of the Enemy . . . such Emissaries have dared to intrude in the Camp, by spurious promises . . . perhaps by a readiness in the German language. . . . In regard to Deserters themselves, all outposts, Scouts and working Parties, of Provincials and Indians, are hereby promised a reward of twenty Dollars for every Deserter they bring in; and in case any Deserter should be killed in the pursuit, their scalps are to be brought off."—Orderly Book, p. 79. September 30 (p. 123), Burgoyne pays his respects to the drivers: "They are also to be informed that the first Deserter taken belonging to them will be hanged up immediately."

for himself, aroused the just indignation of the whole country. We may consider that he possessed fair military ability, though our diarist (p. 109, MS.) participates in the prejudice against him current at the time. Kingsford (History Canada, VI., 229), who may be accounted disinterested, says, "although there is nothing to warrant the mention of Gates' name with very high laudation, at the same time there is no just reason for the exaggerated depreciation of his character, which is constantly to be met in United States biographies." He assumed command, displacing Schuyler at the time stated by Hitchcock.

near Surratoga by a Sergeant & 4 men—Several Tories—Received a Letter this Evening from Cap^t Batchelder wrote to Him by the Post—

25. Went to Albany in the P. M. rained most of the P. M. put up with Mr Plumb at Mr Roorbeck's news that the Enemy left Fort Stanwix left their Tents Standing & all heavy Bagage—
26. Dined at Dr Potts's—returned to Camp P. M. rainy most of the Day—
27. Report y^t our Troops have possession of Long Island &c—
28. Dined at Gen^l Gates's¹ — Eighty Connecticut light Horse came into Camp, were ordered over to Pittstown half way to Bennington—visited Hospital—
29. No noticeable occurrence to Day
30. Eight Hundred Riflemen² arrived to Gen^l Poors Camp—Mr. Shaw & Pearson came into Camp this Evening received Letters fr^m Home of y^e 8, 11, & to y^e 25th; from Rev^d Morrell to 22 Aug^t :
31. Sunday. Divine Service at 11 o'Clock A. M. Jer: 2, 19, at 4 P. M. Exod: 15, 3, very Warm.
Do thou, great Liberty, inspire our Souls
& make our Lives in thy possession happy
or our Deaths glorious in thy just Defence

September 1. A Troop of Connecticut Horse came into Camp—Gen^l Lincoln & Parmer came from Bennington—visited Hospital attended funeral of a Sergeant of Col^o Bradfords Reg^t just at Night a Flag came in from Burgoine on the subject of Torys being killed in cool blood.

¹ Our author evidently was *persona grata* in all the relations of life. He had the true social gift and was received accordingly everywhere, as may be seen in these scant records. Chaplains are either greater or less than the place demands. If they are superior men, they become excellent military ministers, or the reverse follows.

² This must have been Morgan's command, though the number is probably overstated.

2. Prisoners bro^t in from the Germane flats taken as Spies—Accounts of Gen^l Washington passing Philadelphia—Receiv^d Letter from Rev^d Ward & Brother David, & wrote to them by Mr Shaw—Wrote Home N^o 20, sent a 20 Doll Bill—wrote to Rev^d Morrill & Mrs. Francis—
3. Dined at Gen^l Glovers with Brigadier Palmer & D^r Taylor wrote to Cap^t Batchelder—
4. Accounts receiv^d y^t y^e Enemy are bumbarding Baltimore—Brigade mustered & viewed at Night by Brigadier Palmer & D^r Taylor—
5. Went to Gen^l Poors Brigade, Dined at Col^o Brooks's—one of Cap^t Maybury's men ran from the Enemy say they are coming down.
6. Receiv^d Letter from M^r Foster p^r Post—

Gen^l Orders Sept 6, 1777

The Gen^{ls} commanding Divisions, & the Gen^{ls} & Col^{os} commanding Brigades to see y^t y^e commanding Officers of Regiments & Corps have every thing in immediate readiness for a March y^t wⁿ Gen^l Orders² are issu^d, y^e Army may have only to Strike t^r Tents, load their Baggage & instantly on y^e word being given, march off y^e Ground—

A very large Army of Maletia³, with a Brigade of Continent Troops, under y^e Command of Gen^l Lin-

¹ John Brooks, M. D., LL. D., of Medford, Mass., was a brilliant soldier and an accomplished man. A fellow-student of Count Rumford,—the bent of his mind and his education made him the associate of Steuben, when the latter became the Inspector-General of the army in 1778. They formed the system of tactics. In this campaign, he was Colonel of the Seventh Massachusetts Regiment.

² The abounding rhetoric of the order does not exaggerate the rising of the militia to repel Burgoyne's invasion. Through the Connecticut valley and eastward to Middlesex and Essex in Massachusetts, the hardy freemen mustered at the call of Washington. They assisted our campaign by their reinforcement in the battles, and yet more by their operations on the communications of the British. The enemy's supplies were practically cut off before the surrender at Saratoga.

³ Whatever the middle and southern colonies may have thought of the

coln & Genl Starks, being now assembled on y^e Grants, & every necessary preparation for t^r acting in Concert with this Army, upon y^e point of being compleated, the whole force must be prepared to march upon y^e Shortest notice—

To drive y^e Enemy with Disgrace & defeat back to Canada, is y^e Object of the present Campaign—What has been so Successfully begun under Genl Starks & Col^o Warner to y^e Eastward, & by Genl Harkemer & Col^o Gansivoort to y^e Westward cannot with y^e Blessing of Hvn, fail to be equally prosperous in y^e Hands of y^e Genls & Soldiery appointed to face y^e Enemy's main Army to y^e North—

If the murder of aged Parents with their Innocent Children—If mangling the Blooming Virgin & Inoffensive youth be Incitements to Revenge! If the Righ^ts Cause of Freedom, & y^e Happiness of Posterity, be motives to Stimulate The Army to conquer their Mercenary & merciless Foes—! The Time is now come when they are called upon by t^r Country, by their Genls, by every Reason humane & Divine, to vanquish their Enemies—

Each State in particular & y^e grand Convention of the united States in general are at this moment Indiscriminally employed to provide their Armies with every Comfort & necessary that can possibly be procured—

Duty, Gratitude & Honor must Ergo inspire the Heart of every Officer and Soldier, to do Justice to ^{this} ~~their~~ much injured Country!

militia of New England, the testimony of one of our chief antagonists was clear and decisive. Sir William Howe (Narrative p. 18) says, "Besides, the provinces of New England are not only the most populous, "but their militia, when brought to action, the most persevering of any "in all North America; and it is not to be doubted that General Wash- "ington, with his main army, would have followed me into a country "where the strength of the Continent, encouraged by his presence, would "have been most speedily collected."

7. Sunday. Shower last Night with much Lightning—Divine Service at 11 o'Clock A. M. at 4 P. M. Exds: 5, 16 Ezra 9, 13, 14—Orders came out at Eight Clock in Evening for all Tents to be Struck & the Army to be under way at Gunfiring—Wrote Home p^r Post N^o 21 & to M^r Foster—
8. Rose at 4 o'Clock, Tents Struck & load at Gunfiring—march^d off the Island at Nine, forded the Sprorts, to half Moon where we joined Gen^ls Govers & Nixon's Brigade, go on to the Widow peoples's; about 4 Miles—where Gen^l Arnolds Division & Col^o Morgans Riflemen joined, halted half Hour—go about four Miles further & encamp—a fine Day & the men in very high Spirits—three Tories escaped from the main Guard last Night.
9. Rose at 4 Tents & Baggage loaded, the Army marched off at eight o'Clock—reached Still Water at 11. Col^o Francis Regiment ordered on the Hill on the east side the River—cool Day—Col^o Baldwin¹ began a bridge a Cross the River in y^e afternoon—
10. A very rainy Night, my Tent blew over—Col^o Beadle from the Grants mentions that 45 Families of St Francis Indians had mov^d to Coos to avoid fighting ag^t us—The Bridge finished by the middle of the Afternoon—
11. Gen^l Starks's Brigade under command of Col^o Ashley (600) arrived, took possession of the hight Col^o Francis Reg^t order to join the Brigade—came over just at Night,—The whole Army ordered to be under Arms at retreat beating
12. The Army decamped from Still Water at Six & marched up the road two & out about half a Mile to the westward of the road, behind Beemuses², en-

¹ Jeduthan Baldwin, of Woburn, Mass., was a Colonel of Engineers in the Continental corps. His command is spoken of as a "regiment of artificers."

² This strong position at Behmus' Heights was intrenched and became the citadel of our army. Stone puts the distance three miles north of

camped of the heights—Goodale returned & brot me a Letter from Home dated Sep: 2nd—rainy—the Bridge brot up—

13. Invitation to dine at Headquarters while I was there 2 Prisoners were brot in from near Surratoga from whence four were brot in the morning—by their accounts the Enemy are moving tow^d us, their army all collected near Surratoga—various in their Accounts of their Strength—I saw a Letter to the Genl from one M^r Clerk of N. Perth, the Grants, a Clergyman who is gone out with protection to offer to Tories who will return—who says the road from Fort Edward is lined with Tents eno' to hold 16000 men—That Genl Lincoln is possessed of Fort Ann, Skeene & some say Fort George” This is report

Col^l Hale is under confinement at Albany—entrenchments throwing up, from y^e Hill to y^e River—

Sunday 14. Divine Service at 4 °Clock P. M. Ps: 115, 11 fair Day—Wrote Home N^o 22 pr Post.—

15. Two Tories brot in to Day—The British Troops at Surratoga, Hessians opposite to M^r Niel's—Drew a pair of Breeches from the Store at 6 Dolls & a $\frac{1}{3}$ —Col^l Colman who went out Saturday with 300 men to observe the Enemy's motions, returned & says they have 1000 Tents, that they struck them all except a few & moved at 12 °Clock & their rear started off at two, marched this way—in conseq^t of this Intelligence the ordered that the whole Army to lay upon their Arms, & to turn out at 4 °Clock tomorrow morning, expecting an Attack about that Time, The Army are in fine Spirits—dined at Headquarters—

Stillwater. The action of September 19th was at Freeman's Farm, further north. The action of October 7th, and the last, was in the final attempt of Burgoyne to turn this position.

(Diary of Enos Hitchcock, D. D., to be continued.)

ROGER WILLIAMS SPRING.

Roger Williams Spring, so called, is situated within the square bounded by North Main street, Church street, Canal street and Allen's lane. The spring, which is now walled up and covered with an iron cap, is located in the basement of the brick house now occupied by Dr. Sanford S. Burton, No. 242 North Main street. It is about 27 feet west of the westerly line of North Main street, and about 14 feet north of the northerly line of Allen's lane. Before the last widening of North Main street, in 1869, the spring was in the yard at the rear of the brick house. About 1870, this house was moved back over the spring to its present position.

Judge Staples states that "Roger Williams and his companions, after exchanging salutations with an Indian at What Cheer, pursued their voyage around Fox Point and up Providence river to a point a little south of St. John's Church. A fine spring of water, which has ever since borne the name of Williams Spring, is supposed to indicate the place of their first settlement."

The only ancient map showing this spring was found by the late Zachariah Allen, in 1875, among the papers of the Historical Society. Mr. Allen was so delighted with his discovery that he withdrew the map from the society to show to interested friends and, among others, to the city engineer, who caused a copy of the map to be carefully made, and this copy is now on file in the city engineer's office. Mr. Allen stated that he intended to immediately return the original map to the society where no doubt it can now be found. This interesting map shows the "Ware House Lots" on the west side of North Main street from near Mill street southerly to beyond Transit street, and is apparently older than any map of the same district now on record. The well-known "Ware House Plat" confirmed by the proprietors May 31, 1746, and recorded on plat card 117, recorder's office, Providence, covers about the

same territory as the earlier map and is more complete and apparently more modern. The earlier map is without date, but was probably made about the year 1710. On the lot now numbered 242 North Main street the curious words "Scott's Spring" appear. This would seem to show that what is now called Roger Williams Spring, and which Judge Staples states was always so called, was really known at the date of this map as "Scott's Spring."

Neither Roger Williams nor Richard Scott owned the land whereon the spring stood, but, before 1712, the Scotts owned the land directly opposite, and the spring evidently took its name from this fact.

Scott was Williams' nearest neighbor on the north, having bought the home lot of Joshua Verin, one of the five who accompanied Williams on his voyage around Fox Point, before alluded to. Williams did not always live in harmony with his next-door neighbors. Verin forbade his wife attending Williams' preaching, and for this step was disfranchised, after much wrangling on both sides. Verin was so provoked at the whole proceeding that he soon after moved into Massachusetts. Scott, his successor in title, followed the teachings of Williams for a short time, but soon afterwards withdrew with his family and became one of the leaders of the new sect called Quakers. Scott's wife and two children were among those who were whipped in Boston for their loyalty to the Friends' cause.

Scott's home lot stood directly opposite Scott's Spring, and was sold to Charles Dier, in 1712. All the subsequent deeds of this property have been examined, but no reference whatever is made to the spring.

Dier held the Scott property one year and then sold the same to Nathaniel Brown, ship builder. Brown probably lived at what is now the southeasterly corner of North Main and Church streets. In 1722, by his deed of gift, Brown presented King's Church of Providence, with a lot of land forty feet by seventy-one feet, adjoining the south side of the present parish house of St. John's Church. Soon after, Brown enlarged this grant by giving a strip about 20 feet wide on the south and east sides of the original gift.

In the same year the first Episcopal church in Providence was erected on this lot. In 1769, John Merritt, by will, bequeathed to the church the lot next south of the Brown gift. This brought the front of the church property out to what is now Church street, although Church street was not laid out until eight years later. In 1767, 1777, 1810, 1860 and 1867, the church property was still further enlarged by purchase and exchange, until it acquired its present outline. None of the deeds of the property make any reference to the spring.

In 1721, a committee of the proprietors of Providence conveyed to Gabriel Bernon, a lot thirty feet wide on the west side of the main street, with this important reservation, "excepting only to the inhabitants of said town free liberty to pass and repass to and from the spring at the bottom of the hill within said land, which liberty is reserved for the inhabitants to fetch water at said spring forever." The land conveyed by this deed to Gabriel Bernon, ancestor of Zachariah Allen, includes the lot whereon Roger Williams Spring now stands, and the deed quoted is the earliest conveyance that has been found of the land in question. The public enjoyed the privilege of taking water from this spring until quite a recent period under the grant from the proprietors, and the public watering trough on Canal street was supplied with water through a pipe leading from this spring.

It appears from the foregoing that what is now known as Roger Williams Spring was formerly called Scott's Spring; that neither Williams nor Scott held the lot whereon the spring stood, and that Williams never owned the land opposite the spring after the transfer to his companions, but that said land belonged to Scott who gave the spring its earliest name; that the town regarded the spring as public property, and when the lot was finally conveyed the right to use the spring was reserved to the people. This right was always enjoyed and it seems probable that the public still has the right to enter upon the premises and use the waters of Roger Williams Spring.

The accompanying plan shows the location of the spring as herein described.

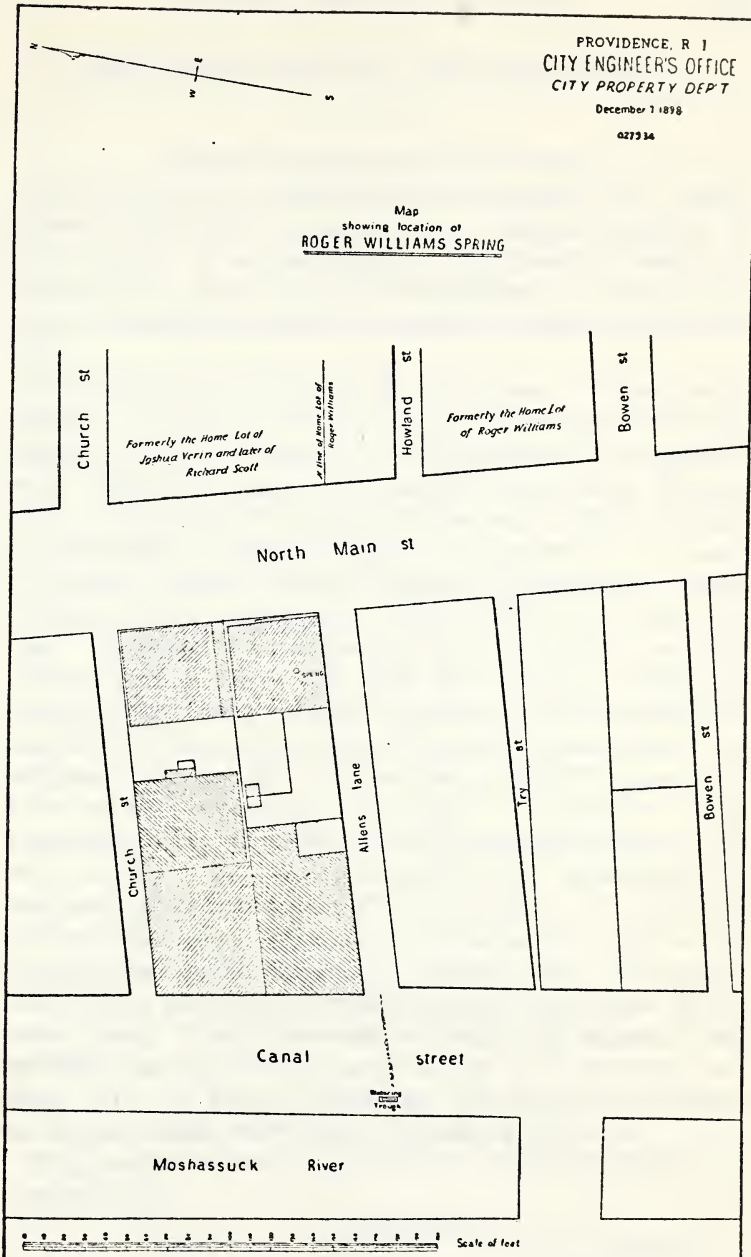
WM. G. BRENNAN.

PROVIDENCE, R. I.
CITY ENGINEER'S OFFICE
CITY PROPERTY DEPT

December 7 1898

627534

Map
showing location of
ROGER WILLIAMS SPRING



EDITORIAL NOTES AND CULLINGS.

STEPHEN HOPKINS AND HIS WATCH.

This Society has recently become the possessor of a watch believed to have been owned by Gov. Stephen Hopkins of Rhode Island. It was presented by Mr. David F. Harris of Adams, N. Y., son of the late Edward Harris of Woonsocket, who is remembered as one of the leading manufacturers of this State.

In his letter of presentation Mr. Harris says: "From what evidence I procured I believe it to have been the property of Stephen Hopkins, a signer of the Declaration of Independence. Facts in the case as I remember them are as follows. When at Castleton, Vt., during the summer of 1887, I heard of a descendant of Stephen Hopkins living near there. Jerome B. Bromley, Probate Judge of Rutland county for many years, assured me of its correctness; he went with me to see the man. We found a man upward of 90 years of age, unusually well-preserved in mind. He said that he was, I think, the great-grandson of the 'Stephen Hopkins;' that the watch had descended to him in direct line; it had always been called 'the Stephen Hopkins watch;' he had 'never carried it, guess that it has not been wound up in 50 years.' I asked him many questions in connection with the watch, the tenor of all answers being as above. As a matter of family lore, I, at the time, felt convinced of the correctness of his statements. He said that his family had always understood of it as he had told me. I recently wrote Judge Bromley for further proof. He replied that the man and his sister were both dead, none other of the family living. Should you wish to further investigate I am confident that inquiries addressed to Hon. J. B. Bromley, Castleton, Vt., will have his attention; his being Probate Judge for the past nearly thirty years might be of assistance.

"Engraved upon the movement of the watch is, 'N. Maidstone, London, 5347.'"

"Yours truly,

"D. F. HARRIS."

In a subsequent letter, Mr. Harris encloses the following note from his cousin, Mr. Darius D. Farnum of Woonsocket, R. I.

"I see by the papers that you have given to the Rhode Island Historical Society the 'Stephen Hopkins watch.' This same Hopkins was a Friend, but was disowned for the part he took in the war. He is a prominent figure in Rhode Island History and I am glad the State has the valuable souvenir which you sent them. I have a paper,—an autograph paper,—of Stephen Hopkins,—no mistaking the chirography. It is a manumission paper, whereby he gives to one of his slaves, 'St. Jago' by name, his freedom. Aunt Lucy gave me the paper and told me that it was found among her grandfather's papers, with whom St. Jago had left it for safe keeping, and died without ever calling for it. Her grandfather Farnum is meant, our great-grandfather Farnum, who died in 1780. He it was who gave the land for it and contributed besides largely toward building the Friends' Meeting House in Uxbridge, in 1770, and where he preached. Moses Brown of Providence used to come to Uxbridge to see him. They were good friends and used to travel together and make religious visits. Moses Brown wrote a touching memorial on the occasion of his death."

FRIENDS' SCHOOL,

March 8, 1899.

My dear Mr. Perry :—

Stephen Hopkins was disowned from the Society of Friends Third Month, 1773. The record then made is as follows:—"The matter concerning Stephen Hopkins holding a negro woman as a slave was considered, and as he still refuses to set her at liberty, though often requested, this meeting puts him from under their care, and appoints Moses Farnum and George Comstock to draw up a paper of denial against him and bring to next Monthly Meeting ; and Benjamin Arnold and Thomas Lapham, Jr., are appointed to inform said Hopkins of the above conclusion, and make report to next Monthly Meeting."

I hereby certify that the above was given to me by Richard

Bathey, the Custodian of the Records of Smithfield Monthly Meeting of Friends, at Smithfield, R. I., as and for a true copy of said Record, and I believe the same to be correct. Friends of Providence in ancient time belonged to that meeting.

Yours truly,

AUGUSTINE JONES.

P. S. It is quite possible that Hopkins did not like his officious treatment. In this case, he freed his slaves and was a champion of human freedom.

Mr. Jones says, on page 35 of his "Sketch of the Life and Services of Moses Brown,"—"Moses Brown was always in the closest friendship with Stephen Hopkins, who was thirty-one years his senior and was an ardent supporter of the war. Moses Brown writes in 1781:—'I was with Stephen Hopkins sitting, when General Washington called to see him. I sat some time viewing the simple, friendly and pleasant manner in which these two great men met, and conversed with each other on various subjects. I have occasionally seen Washington before and since, and been impressed by his simple, easy manner, as resembling that of Governor Hopkins.'"

The above interview is presumed to have taken place in Governor Hopkins' modest dwelling, then standing on South Main street and since removed to Hopkins street.

ARTHUR FENNER—JOHN BROWNE.

Copy of an original letter showing the age of Arthur Fenner and, also, of John Browne, furnished by Mrs. Pardon Fenner Brown.

Providence this 9th of october 1664

Arthur ffenner Aged 41 yeares, and John Browne Aged 35 yeares, both of them being solemnly Ingaaged doe witnesse as foloweth, that they being desired by william Harris to giue in their testimony how farr the house at mishantituck is one ward of the way of 20 miles westward from the hill Called

foxes hill, they say that the house aforesaid falleth within 5 miles of the said 20 miles before specified, laying their Compasse due north and south from 5 miles in length in the west line towards the 20 they say according to their best vnderstanding, they so testifye

Taken by me THOMAS OLNEY

Assistant the day & yeare aboue sa[]

They also afirme that vpon the top or h[] end of neutoconet hill is 3 miles measure from foxes hill

Taken vpon their ingaagement ye day and yeere abouesaid.

Before me THOMAS OLNEY

Assistant

HOUSE AND OFFICE OF THEODORE FOSTER.

An inquiry at p. 89 of the July (1898) number of the Society's "Publications," as to the location of "Theodore Foster's office on Westminster street," gives me an opportunity to correct a misleading reference in my sketch of Theodore Foster, published in 1885 ("Collections of the Rhode Island Historical Society," v. 7, p. 117).

In foot-note 6 (relating to the site of his house), should be added, after the words, "Back street au delà du pont," these words, namely, "Back street beyond the bridge; that is, Westminster street."

By the recent investigations of Mr. Clarence S. Brigham (pp. 194-5 of the Oct., 1898, issue of this Society's "Publications"), it is now possible to state this locality more specifically as the lower right-hand corner of the present Westminster and Eddy streets, now occupied by the Providence *Journal* office [Providence Deeds, v. 30, pp. 202-208].

Mr. Foster's house, therefore, was not, as erroneously stated in the foot-note referred to, on Benefit street, on the east side of the river, but on Westminster street, on the west side of the river.

WILLIAM E. FOSTER.

Sept. 17, 1898.

PEACE LITERATURE.

The following contribution to the cause of Peace, copied from the Rhode Island Historical Society's recently acquired Channing collection of letters, seems especially appropriate at this period, when public attention is being directed to a Peace Congress of the Governments of the World and to the sixty-second year of Queen Victoria's reign and her eightieth birthday.

LETTERS TO REV. WILLIAM E. CHANNING, D. D.

Holland House 16 July 1839.

Sir

I had the pleasure of delivering into the hands of our young & intelligent Queen your lecture on War. Her Majesty had beforehand granted me permission to do so without the usual form or ceremony of applying to the regular officers & I can assure you that as I felt proud of being the channel of such an offering from so distinguished a writer I had also the satisfaction of hearing from the Queen's own lips that she was no stranger to your merits & she commissioned me to convey her acknowledgments for the acceptable present of your lecture.

I must not omit my sense of personal obligation not only for your selection of me as the channel of communication but for a present of a copy of your work for myself, which I assure you that I value most highly for its contents & for its author.

Accept my best thanks & believe me Sir with sincere respect

Your obliged

VASSALL HOLLAND.

Boston 18 Sep. '39.

My dear Sir,

I enclose you a letter just received from Lord Holland. In the one to myself that accompanied it, he says—The first time after my illness that I went to court, I had the pleasure, —& I really felt a great deal,—of placing the Lecture on War in the Queen's hands; and I had the further satisfaction of perceiving that she was well acquainted with the merits of the eloquent author and not insensible to the compliment, that he

paid her, in transmitting it to her. It is really without any of the illusions of a courtier or any blind attachment to the institutions of monarchy a great and perhaps strange piece of good fortune to see so young a person in so high a station, capable of forming a judgement on principles of the nature of those treated by Dr. Channing & affording so fair a prospect of applying them honestly and judiciously to the great interests which she is doomed to consider.

As Lord Holland is a person not likely to say this, unless he felt it, I am glad to have it, as an *honest* though perhaps, prejudiced testimony to the Queen's character. It is of vast consequence to the world, that she should be what he thinks her.

We are all well & well established in our own house, where we shall hope to see you before long. Mean time Mrs. T. joins me in respectful regards to yourself & Mrs. Channing.

Yrs. very faithfully,

GEO. TICKNOR.

WASHINGTON

20th. Feb. 1835.

Dear Sir,

I am much obliged to you for a copy of your Sermon on War, which I will read with care the first leisure moment.

Permit me in return to present you with my report on Executive patronage. Tho' the two subjects are apparently entirely disconnected, he who will look below the surface will see a most intimate relation between them. We would have few wars, if there did not exist in any community a body separate from the rest of the community, who have a direct interest in War. That body is the great and influential corps of office holders & office seekers, contractors, agents, jobbers, speculators to whom war brings an abundant harvest. This corps as you will see by the report is already very formidable, and will be ready to plunge the country into war, either to prevent reform, or to increase their gain.

With respect,

I am &c. &c.

Rev.d. W. E. Channing.

J. C. CALHOUN.

CHANNING COLLECTION OF LETTERS.

The recently acquired Channing collection of letters and other autographs would, if printed, constitute one of the most interesting and valuable volumes of this society's collections. Only the lack of a proper publication fund stands in the way of this step being taken at once. These letters remind us that Channing, who was born in this State little more than a century ago, and was elected an honorary member of this society sixty-three years ago, spent much of his life with chosen friends trying to solve great social humane problems that are now being caught up by peoples and nations throughout the civilized world. We are confident that letters from Sismondi, Degérando and other men of their stamp would now be appreciated. Unless the means are promptly secured for bringing out these letters in one volume, they will be printed as opportunity is afforded in this quarterly publication. A rough estimate of the cost of printing three hundred copies of this work is three hundred dollars.

[To J. C. L. de Sismondi.]

Boston, April 19, 1839.

My dear Sir,

It is a long time since we have communicated with one another, but my own heart assures me that silence is no proof of indifference. I take pleasure in thinking of you as devoted to the interests of freedom and mankind, and am persuaded that you do not labour in vain. My friend, Mr. Ticknor, tells me that he saw you in Italy, a country from which I thought your free principles had excluded you. I should be glad to learn from you how men's minds are working in that region. Is Catholicism undergoing any changes? Is the spiritual yoke growing lighter? Is a feeling of nationality gaining strength? The Italian exiles, who have visited this country, have increased our interest in that ill-fated land. They may be deficient in practical wisdom—but they have a noble spirit.

France still seems in an unsettled state. I am grieved to see so many men of literary eminence engulfed in politicks. I fear that the *notoriety* of political life is too great a temptation for the French mind to withstand; and yet how worthless is this compared with the enduring fame and the usefulness to the world by which a laborious work of genius is rewarded. I

am told that the Chamber of Peers is of no political significance, and yet that literary men are very anxious to make their way to it. Is the feverish state of France, or rather of Paris, to last forever? The laws of nature seem to require some repose.

I send you a few pamphlets recently published by me. The state of things here seems to demand efforts of this kind, though they take me from labors which are dearer. On the subject of slavery, there is a decided improvement of opinion; and we trust that the great work of the age, which is the diffusion of intelligence and enlightened religion through the mass of the people, is going on. I wish that I could at the same time announce to you any great work of science or literature from our higher minds. Since Mr. Prescott's history of Ferdinand and Isabella, we have made no important addition to literature. A great deal of useful and strong thought is thrown out in essays, periodicals, etc.,—but we are too busy for great works.

Very respectfully,

Yr. friend,

WM. E. CHANNING.

Rev. Dr. Channing,

Dear Sir,

I cannot refrain from expressing to you how deep an impression your discourse this morning made on my mind. Your defence of intellectual and personal liberty seemed to me full of the majesty of truth and the eloquence of benevolence. I trust you will publish it to the world.

I venture to enclose a little production of my own, in which I have endeavored to enforce the necessity of looking to the improvement and elevation of the people as the great object of Christianity applied to civilization. In the cause of freedom, as developed by you this morning, I should be proud to be even the humblest of your fellow-workers.

Should the enclosed letter contain anything worthy of censure, I should submit to your rebuke with the sincerity of the strongest respect, and should set a proportionate value on your approbation.

With highest respect,

Yours,

GEORGE BANCROFT.

I return to Northampton to-morrow morning, or I should have begged the favor of an interview.

Sunday evening, Oct. 12, 1834.

(Diary of Enos Hitchcock, D. D., continued from page 134.)

16. The Army turned out agreeable to orders & went to their Alarm Posts but not Enemy appear—a Deserter or Prisoner brot in last night—the Enemy within Six Miles of us—Genl Starks came into Camp last Evening, informs that Genl Lincoln is gone to Ti— that Col^o Brown¹ with a 1000 men is gone to Fort George = Orders for two days provisions to be cooked = this Afternoon Flagg came in to bring Capl Watkins & Lain on Parole for two months—one British Soldier & two Tories taken & brot in—one Tory Ensign—Wrote Home N^o 22. by Mr. Appleby.
17. The morning a quarrel hapned between one Saml Hemenway & Dudley Broadstreet of Capl Thorn's Company, the former thrust a Knife into the Neck of the latter, cut the jugelar vein partly, a dangerous wound! This Evening orders for the whole Army to have their Tents & baggage loaded at 4 the morning & be under Arms—
18. Turned out & loaded Baggage &c at 4,² a fine Morning—about Sunrise Genl Arnold's Division marched past in the Road by River & part in western Road the Carpenters go forward to build Bridges—our Brigade repaired at 7 oClock to their Alarm Post—the advance Body of the Enemy said to be within

¹ John Brown of Sandisfield, Mass., a vigorous patriot, under the orders of Gen. Lincoln, surprised the outposts of Ticonderoga, set free 100 American prisoners, captured four companies of regulars with stores and cannon. He destroyed a number of boats and an armed sloop; altogether he struck a hard blow at the British. Brown foresaw the treachery of Arnold, and left the Northern army on account of his detestation of the future traitor.

² This daily practice of breaking camp added much to the mobility of Gates' command. He could not know just where or when the enemy would appear and was always ready. It deceived the enemy. After Freeman's Farm, because the Americans packed baggage, Burgoyne thought they were about to run.

*two*³ Miles the main about *three*⁴ — Cap^t Chadwick came across 33 of the Enemy getting Potatoes,¹ fired & killed one, wounded 3 & took 8—Gen^l Arnold with Division went near their Camp but nothing capital happened—fine Day.

19. This Day about ten o'clock accounts receiv^d that the Enemy are advancing² — the Army all under Arms — a large body Col^l Morgan's men & others, sent out—a Skirmish began between them & a Body of Enemy at half after one, lasted half an Hour, very hot about 17 minutes, beat the Enemy of the ground—took some well & all the wounded—at 40 minutes *after three* & lasted three Hours very hot—we drove them half a mile—constant reinforcements on both

¹ This potato skirmish was exaggerated by the British. Anburey puts the killed and wounded near thirty (Digby's Journal and citation from A. p. 270). Anburey apparently forgets that soldiers within three miles of an active enemy are liable to be hurt, whether digging potatoes or levelling their muskets.

² The battle of Freeman's Farm, often called the first battle of Stillwater, or of Saratoga, was the turning point in Burgoyne's career, and it virtually decided the fate of his army. Like most European tacticians, when moving in America, he does not appear to have availed of his Indians, scouts, or other means, to find out where his enemy was located, or how posted. On the nineteenth of September he made "a scout," as he called it, "if occasion served, to attack the rebels on the spot." There was an elaborate formation in three columns about half a mile apart (see Lamb's Journal of the American War, p. 158); the right consisting of light troops from the various regiments with Breyman's German riflemen, commanded by Gen. Fraser; the centre comprising 20th, 21st, 62d regiments, commanded by Gen. Hamilton and led by Burgoyne in person; the left bringing the British artillery with the remaining Germans, and commanded by Generals Phillips and Riedesel.

According to Digby's Journal, p. 270, the British had intelligence at daybreak that Morgan was posted three miles from them, with the main body a half mile in his rear, very strongly posted. By all American accounts, Morgan was sent out after the British advance begun. Hitchcock's statement is strictly correct, so far as it goes. One hundred "Picquets" under Major Forbes 9th British (see Hadden, p. 162) were severely punished by Morgan, at one or half-past one, who in turn was

sides made Success various, we took three field pieces from them but not be able to bring them off being no road, they retook them—the action ceased, as night approached—tis impossible to determine what Success as we can! find either their or our loss, it must be considerable on both—many wounded of both bro! in—among the Slain Col! Colburn & Adams—

20. This morning agreeable to orders, all turned out at three o'clock. Struck Tents & loaded all baggage ready to move at 4—the Brigade repair to their Alarm Post at break off Day & their tarried all Day—the Baggage sent down to Still Water—the wounded to Albany, about 160 of ours between twenty & thirty of theirs were bro! off the field yesterday—the dead said to be 40—a hundred Indians came from Albany—fair Day—two or three Deserters came in say that Gen! Burgoyne is wounded in the Body—

Sunday 21. Turned out & went to alarm post at four o'clock this morning, Brigade remained there most of the Day, several small Showers—news of Col! Brown taking the French lines &c—thirteen Cannon¹ dis-

¹ Digby (p. 276) says "they fired 13 heavy guns, which we imagined "might be signals for an attack; and which would be the most fortunate event that we could have wished, our position being so very advantageous." The "National Salute," which disturbed the British then, has been heard many times since.

repulsed by a battalion wheeled over from Fraser on the British right. Morgan's riflemen pressed on through the woods and struck the left of the British centre. Gates, from his headquarters, had sent forward three New Hampshire battalions. It is stated that as many as nine regiments were directed by Arnold. At 3.40 P. M. the battle became general and raged for three hours or more. The contest was severe for the possession of the clearing known as Freeman's Farm. The Americans had no artillery and seized the British guns several times. They could not bring them off, nor turn them in their own favor, having no lintstocks. Burgoyne's centre was hammered hard, the 62d regiment being nearly anni-

charged on the Occasion & three Cheers given—the Indians brot in two Tories painted like themselves—who were upon Centry with the Enemy, Genl Gates delivered them up to their handling, they drove them shouting & whooping thro the Street—the number of killed & wounded three hundred eighteen in the late Action— Received Letters from Capl Batchelder & Cousin Phebe pr Post—

22. Turned out at three this morning Struck Tents & loaded Baggage—about noon pitched them again—Indians brot in two regular Prisoners & one Scalp—paraded thro the road with them—Wrote Home pr Post N^o 23 not numbred—To Capl Batchelder Re^d Fish & the Printer—rained P. M.
23. Alarmed by discharge of severl Cannon in the Enemy's Camp—dined at Headquarters—Indians brot in Seven Tories—

hilated. Morgan's riflemen, posted in trees, made sad havoc among the opposing officers. Generally the British could not use their favorite weapon, the bayonet. When the centre was about exhausted, Reidesel, moving to the sound of the guns from the left, poured a heavy fire into the right flank of the Americans attacking the centre. The attacking troops staggered, and the British drove them from the field by a well-directed charge of bayonets. Fraser and Breyman wished to pursue and follow up the advantage, but were recalled by Burgoyne's positive order. He was much censured by both parties for this act. It was nearly dark, and the movement could not have made much difference to the campaign, but it would have changed the aspect of this engagement somewhat. Burgoyne claimed the victory, which all authorities have since denied him. The British loss was estimated at 500 to 600, and the American at about 320. The results were greater than could be comprehended in any single action. The morale of both armies was changed. There was no lack of courage on either side, but Burgoyne's force included the flower of European troops. Stedman (*American War*, I., 323) fairly states his opponent's case. "No solid advantages resulted to the British troops from this encounter. The conduct of the enemy convinced everyone that they were able to sustain an attack in open plains with the intrepidity, the spirit, and the coolness of veterans. For four hours they maintained a contest hand to hand."

24. Orders to strike Tents & load Baggage at Ten o'clock this morning occasioned by Deserters, who say the Enemy are coming on—Indians brot in three Tories—nothing of Consequence happened—Good news from the Southard that Howe had lost 3000 in the late Action we 1000 &c—Genl Lincoln's Troops came in—Maletia from Berkshire Count came up—Army in high Spirits—
 25. Indians brot in two Tories—rained most of the P. M—
 - 26.¹ The Indians brot in eleven Prisoners, Hessians & Tories, two of our own men & two Scalps—Maletia come in fast—
 27. One Deserter & one of our men from the Enemy—Cool—
- Sunday 28. This morning at ten o'clock the Camp was alarmed by the discharge of a Cannon in the Enemy's Camp—men at their Alarm Posts all Day—Dr. Jones & Mr. Shaw; receiv^d Letter from Home, Mr. Herrick

¹ Gates was a fair soldier, but one of the meanest of men. On the 26th he issued his congratulatory order . . . "the General has not been properly at leisure to return his grateful thanks to Gen. Poor's & Gen. Learned's Brigades, to the regiment of riflemen and to Colo Marshall's "regiment for their valiant behaviour in the action of the 19th inst." (Digby's Journal, p. 283.) No mention of Morgan, who had borne the brunt of the fray, nor of Arnold, who was heroic under fire, though his generalship was criticised. Gates had studied for a week how to mortify these men, whom he hated.

Anburey's statement (Travels in America, I., 418) is interesting. "The courage and obstinacy with which the Americans fought, were the astonishment of every one, and we now become fully convinced, they are not that contemptible enemy we had hitherto imagined them, incapable of standing a regular engagement, and that they would only fight behind strong and powerful works."

It was proven that the superior training, discipline and organization of the British army could be fairly met and sometimes overcome by the better intelligence, marksmanship and adaptability of the Americans.

& Mrs. Francis by them with my Horse—from Mr. Foster & Brother David by Post, wrote to them by Him—

29. This morning two Hessian Sergeants one Drumers & a private—Six Hessians made Prisoners & a number of Horses—fair Day—
30. This Day Six Canadians made Prisoners & one Regular—William Dodge retaken—several Horses bro^d in—dined at Col^o Brooks's

October 1. two Hessian Deserters this morning—Rev^d Mr. Jones, Col^o Stone &c dined with me—fair Day—

2. This morning two Hessian Deserters came in—Set off for Albany about Ten, dined at the new City got into town Sunset—warm Day—
3. Receiv^d of the Paymaster Gen^l 312 Dollars & half—drew from the Continental Store 5 yds of Black Broad Cloth at 7 & $\frac{1}{4}$ Dollars p^r y^d, 3 D^o Serget at one D^o 2 Sticks Mohair 2^s, 2 oz: thread 2^s—Wrote Home N^o 24. to Mr. Herrick & Mrs Francis by Mr. Shaw, sent Home 200 Dollars—fifty Prisoners bro^d in to town taken near Surratoga among whom was one Cap^t, two Lieut^s, one Ensign—
4. Returned to Camp: dined at new City—two Deserters came in.

Sunday October 5. Divine Service at 4 °Clock P. M. Matt 5. 32 this Day Six Hessian Deserters came in & four of our men made their escape—

6. Wrote Home N^o 25 pr Post to Mr Foster & Brother Moses—this P. M. a Skirmish between Scouting parties a reinforcement went out from Gen^l Glovers¹ Brigade drove the Enemy into their Lines killed three

¹ Brigadier General John Glover of Salem, Mass., was little, but strong, a good soldier and general. One of the best organizers and disciplinarians in the Continental line. Washington sent him with his brigade to the Northern army, when in its direst needs, after the retreat from Ticonderoga.

or four,¹ we had four wounded—the remainder of Genl Lincoln's party came to Camp—fair Day—eight Deserters four of our own men—

7. This afternoon about two o'Clock, the Camp alarmed, repair to their Alarm Posts—the Enemy advanced on our left²—Col^o Scammels & Hales Reg^s were sent out to observe their Motions & attack them, a Scattering fire began a little before four o'Clock, at half after four it came on very heavy & lasted till Dark—our Troops drove them $\frac{3}{4}$ of a Mile, pursued to their Encampment & took possession of one of the Hessian Camp with all its Tents, Baggage
8. Little happened today, but loose firing—thirty Deserters came in—I went over the Ground where the Battle was, found a number of the dead Stript—

¹ This skirmish is reported by Digby (p. 286): "I went out on a large forage for the army, and took some hay near their camp. On our return we heard a heavy fire and made all the haste possible with the forage. It was occasioned by some of our rangers falling in with theirs; our loss was trifling."

² History labors long in getting itself recorded. The battle of Behmus' Heights is a misnomer. The Heights were fully one mile and a quarter south of the actual battle-ground (Stone, Burgoyne's campaign, p. 71) and were the headquarters of Gates. The second battle of Stillwater, which will be known always as Behmus' Heights, was begun 225 rods southwest of Freeman's Farm and ended on the site of the first action. The British had thrown up half-moon redoubts to secure the Freeman clearing, their citadel and centre. A straggling entrenchment ran eastward almost to the Hudson, where the most of the artillery was strongly posted. It was a strong position and Gates was shrewd enough not to attack it.

Burgoyne had to do something, and after serious councils he determined to make a strong reconnaissance and turn the American left, if possible. Riedesel and Fraser had advised—Phillips withholding opinion—an immediate retreat. Burgoyne was to decide the main question after trying the fighting. He could muster only 1500 men and protect his camp properly. He took 700 of Fraser's, 300 of Breyman's, and 500 of Riedesel's, with eight guns and two howitzers. The advance was in three columns; Fraser commanded the right, which was swinging around

Genl. Lincoln badly wounded in the Leg—both bones
bro! to pieces—eight field pieces & two ammunition
Wagons were bro! in last Night—

the number of our killed

wounded their killed

wounded Prisoners

See Oct 13

9. This morning about forty Deserters came in who inform that the Enemy left their Encampment between twelve o'clock & Day—we soon took possession of it—& found a number of Hospital Tents & a large Barn with 340 wounded,¹ Doct^{rs} & Nurses &c—some provisions, Arms &c—our Carpenters went forward to repair Bridges, began to rain about Ten o'clock last till Evening—Wrote Home N^o 26 by M^r Cleaveland—

¹ Facsimile of Burgoyne's letter surrendering this hospital may be seen Nar. and Crit. America, VI., 310.

to get the advantage of Gates. Phillips and Riedesel were in the centre, but Burgoyne led here in person. Wilkinson, the chief of staff, was sent by Gates within 60 rods of the British line. Hearing his report, Gates said, "Order on Morgan to begin the game." Morgan asked to be allowed to move around toward a ridge in the woods, thus outdoing the enemy's flanking movement. He did this very skilfully. Meanwhile Poor and Learned, with the New York and New Hampshire troops, marched straight against the grenadiers under Ackland, and the artillery, under Williams, was posted on a rising slope. They got in on the flanks of the grenadiers, and the struggle was desperate. One field-piece was taken and retaken five times. In a space of 12 to 15 yards square lay eighteen grenadiers, dead or dying. Ackland was wounded in both legs and left on the field. This was Poor's attack, as Learned was bearing toward the centre where were the Germans.

Morgan became effective at the same moment. He crushed Fraser's flankers like an eggshell, and pressed hard on the right of his line. Major Dearborn, with two New England regiments, attacking between Poor and Morgan, firing vigorously, broke Fraser's front. Balcarres rallied these fleeing troops and brought them into action again, under shelter of a fence in the rear. The Americans then attacked Specht with his 300 Germans in the centre. Fraser saw that the centre was being driven

10. Violent wind & rain most of the Night—orders this morn'g for all to ready to march with 3 Days provisions—Gen! Nixon & Learned's Brigades march about nine o'clock, Glovers at Eleven Poors ours at one P. M. as we passed, we found a great number of Horses, dead, Carts & Waggon's broke one left with 15 Barrells of powder, Tents & poles some burnt, various other articles Strewed by the way—arrived at Surratoga Sun an Hour & $\frac{1}{2}$ high—found Gen! Schuyler's Buildings & the Barracks all on fire, the Enemy on that side the little River—a number of Cannon Shot exchanged, Gen! Fellows² prevented them passing the River³ & to took their Boats loaded

² John Fellows of Pomfret, Conn., led a regiment of minute men to Boston immediately after Lexington. He was now a brigadier-general of militia.

³ This stream, called the "little river" on the 11th, was the Fishkill. Schuyler's house was on the east side of the Albany road and south of the river, where the road crosses the stream.

and took ground with the 24th regiment westward of the Freeman tri-lateral of redoubts. He had hardly established his line, when Tim Murphy's bullet gave his mortal wound. The loss of this gallant general disheartened the British, and Ten Broeck's arrival with the New York militia completed the defeat. Burgoyne abandoned his guns, excepting two howitzers, and ordered his troops into the safe ground of the redoubts. According to Hitchcock, the heavy firing began at half-past four; the work was over in fifty-two minutes.

Arnold becomes conspicuous after the retreat into the redoubts, which he attacked at one and another part. He had been removed by Gates, but appeared in the thickest of the fray. His old troops followed him in his reckless charges, sometimes against the orders of their proper commanders. Apparently he was either making mischief or winning victory, without discrimination. It is impossible to decide exactly what he did. Some accounts charge him with intoxication by liquor or opium; certainly his insane passion made him drunk. The inevitable myths of battle have accumulated about his wild doings, in the shades of this memorable evening. There was a tendency, as the years went on, to make his figure whiter and more brilliant at Saratoga, in order to bring

with pork—our & Poors Brigade filed off to the left & camped on the heights.

11. This morning a guard was taken from the Enemy consisting of a Surgeon's Mate, Lieut & 36 privates 8 or ten afterward ; some deserters—a moderate canonade & Scattering Musketry all Day—Gen! Poors, Pater-sons & Learned's Brigades & the Riflemen pass the little River ¹ about half a Mile above the Bridge & extend upon the left flank of the Enemy within about half a Mile of their Lines—

Sunday October 12. A Slow Canonade most of the Day—a Flag sent into the Enemy I suppose demanding a Surrender, Receiv^d Letter from Rev^d Ward p^r Post from Home & Rev^d Foster—

13. Wrote Home & to Cap^t Batchelder p^r Post. The Tents & Baggage came to us this Day—Some Canonading—28 Prisoners taken—

¹ Burgoyne's position was on the north side of the Fishkill, about three quarters of a mile above (i. e., southwestward from) the point where it empties into the Hudson. The Albany road ran between the British and the Hudson. The reader will perceive that this strong column under Poor outflanked Burgoyne and cut off his line of retreat. Our forces had possession of the Battenkill on the 10th. This stream ran into the Hudson on the opposite side, about a mile north of the Fishkill.

out his hellish treason at West Point in blacker and more fiendish tints.

Breyman, with his Brunswick men, was holding their right, having a breastwork of rails. Learned drove out the Canadians posted between Breyman and the redoubts. The brave German was killed and the left of his position was surrounded. Virtually the key of the British position was lost. Darkness stopped the Americans, but Burgoyne evacuated before daybreak on the 8th, beginning his hopeless retreat.

I have generally followed the spirited accounts of Stone and Mrs. Walworth. Kingsford, VI., 259, puts the total British loss at 600. Cullum (Nar. and Crit. America, VI., 309) puts the American loss at 50 killed and 150 wounded.

The whole series of movements and encounters, from September 19th to October 7th, are known as the battle of Saratoga. They were the failure of Burgoyne to break his enemy's line, or to beat him in the open

An Account of the Prisoners &c of Oct: 7.

3 Col^s one died Since—Sir Francis Clark¹ Aid de Camp to Gen^l Burgoyne—Major Sir Thomas Acklin² Speaker of the House of Commons—1 Major—M^r: Mooney³ A. Q. M. G.—18 Officers of different ranks—159 Rank & file—100 wounded bro^t in—their dead in the field 70—our killed, wounded & missing not exceeding 150—Gen^l: Frazier⁴ died the night following the Battle of the wounds He receiv^d

¹ Sir Francis Carr Clarke, also private secretary to Burgoyne (see Hadden, p. 145), was an excellent officer. According to Wilkinson, Gates argued fiercely with his wounded guest—lying on the general's own bed—on the merits of the American cause. Gates lost temper and in another room asked if Wilkinson "had ever heard so impudent a son of a b—h." Sir Francis was most tenderly treated.

² Our diarist mistakes the son for the father. Major John Dyke Ackland, our prisoner, was the son of Sir Thomas. A rough, blunt and gallant soldier, devotedly loved by his charming wife, Lady Harriet Ackland. Much to Burgoyne's astonishment, she demanded a passage through the lines, and took part in her husband's captivity.

³ John Money, captain in 9th foot, and deputy quartermaster-general.

⁴ Simon Fraser, of the Scottish house of Lovatt, was a brigadier-general. Perhaps the best officer under Burgoyne, and there were many good ones in that little army. Brave, energetic, full of resource, he took a conspicuous part in every action. Digby says (Journal, p. 288) "when Burgoyne saw him fall, he seemed then to feel in the highest degree our 'disagreeable situation.'" His burial, under the enemy's guns, was quite as pathetic as that of Sir John Moore a generation later. Stone (Burgoyne Ballads, p. 290) notices Tim Murphy, one of Morgan's best shots, who killed Fraser. It was said to be by Arnold's especial direction. Murphy was a daring soldier and believed in Benedict Arnold, claiming that he was within five feet of him when the mad Arnold went over the British fortifications at Belmus' Heights.

field. Saratoga decided the American Revolution, and is properly classed by Creasy as one of "the fifteen decisive battles of the world."

Gates has been criticized with and without reason. They blamed him for cowardice because he was not at the front in this action. The charges of lack of courage are probably groundless. Often generals

14. This morning Gen: Burgoyne sent in a Frag requesting leave to send a field Officer in for a Conference on a subject of great Consequence—about ten o'clock Major Kingston¹ Adj: Gen: came in & Stayed an Hour & half—Gen: Gates offers Terms²—no firing this Day—fine Day—
15. This Day Spent in Setling Terms of Accommodation. The Treaty completed except signing—
16. This morning Gen: Burgoyne sent a Letter to Gen: Gates to inform Him that he had been informed He had sent off Several detachments from his Army whereby the Treated was Violated; & beg that two of his Officers might go thro our Camp to Satisfy Him; the Gen: assured Him to the contra—after many interviews being had both were agreed, the Articles signed & they to parade their Arms tomorrow at Ten o'clock.

¹ Robert Kingston was lieutenant-colonel in the army and chief of staff under Burgoyne. Since Clerke's death he had been private secretary. "Appeared to be about forty; he was a well formed, ruddy, handsome man, and expatiated with taste on the beautiful scenery of the Hudson's river." (Rogers' note, Hadden, p. 63.)

² Kingston was blindfolded by Wilkinson after crossing on the sleepers of the broken bridge across the Fishkill, and conducted into the presence of Gates. He read his communication to the general, who handed him a paper, saying, "*There, sir, are the terms on which General Burgoyne must surrender.*" Kingston was astonished, and asked that the general would send the terms by his own officer. He declined, and remarked, "*that as he had brought the message, he ought to take back the answer.*" Kingston made three visits that day.

know not what to do next, when bystanders think they are cowardly. The crowning day at Behmus' was not a pitched battle deliberately planned by the American general. It was a series of bloody struggles in woods and blind clearings, developed from the British movements. Our staff organization has always been wretched, and very likely Gates controlled the action best from a headquarters, where he could be found. War, after all, is chiefly in the doing. Gates made few mistakes and profited by the many of Burgoyne. He did the work, and bagged a fine British army.

17. This is the important Day in Burgoyne & his Army¹ marched out of their Camp with fife & Drum at half past ten, on the flat near the old Fort at Saratoga, the British Troops locked their Arms, the Germans grounded theirs²—Gen: Burgoyne came over at twelve—the began to pass the River about two & continued till near Sunset, our Army paraded by the Road—I went over their Camp, find Lines very Slender, find much mischief done to Guns, Drums &c—counted Cannon Howitzers Mortars a vast number of fine Guns Baggage & Ammunition Waggon, some Tents, Horses & Cattle & many other things—The number of the Enemy who marched out, besides women and Children, five thousand two hundred—the whole was conducted with great Order & decency & out to inspire every Soul with Sincere Gratitude!³ fair Day, Wrote Home to Rev^d Ward p: Waistcot Gen!

¹ Digby heads his journal (p. 317), "A day famous in the annals of America." (p. 320) "As to my own feelings, I cannot express them. Tears (though unmanly) forced their way, and, if alone, I could have burst to give myself vent. I never shall forget the appearance of their troops on our marching past them; a dead silence universally reigned through their numerous columns, and even then, they seemed struck with our situation and dare scarce lift up their eyes to view British troops in such a situation. I must say their decent behaviour during the time (to us so greatly fallen) merited the utmost approbation and praise."

² Kingsford, VI., 280, gives the number surrendered by Burgoyne as 4783. The regular returns were not published, but he claims to have drawn these figures from official papers. Compare estimate in the Diary, October 20th.

³ The articles at first headed "Capitulation" were changed to "Convention" to save Burgoyne's pride. His critics laughed at this euphuism and doggerel verses in London treated the whole American campaign as etiquette.

"Of Saratoga's dreadful plain—
 "An army ruined—why complain?
 "To pile their arms as they were let,
 "Sure they came off with etiquette.

Glovers & Nixons Brigades moved down a few Miles, ours come over to the Colch

18. This morning the Army order^d order to strike Tents & march down, left the ground at Ten A. M. marched to Stillwater with^t halting, stopped till 4 P. M. movd on Reached half Moon at nine in the Evening, Gen! Glovers Brigade passing the River—ours got over at two—I came down to the point with the Teams.

Sunday October 19. Lodged at half Moon point without Cover—rose at Day break pass the Sprouts, arrived at Albany at Nine oClock, the Troops pushed on with great dispatch ; & came into the City this forenoon—& encamp on the heights—attended Sermon at M^r: Boons's [indistinct] prd Judges 7 Ch^h warm & pleasant—

20. This morning M^r: Smith, Evans & myself applied to Gen: Gates to have a Sermon on the occasion of the great Success of the Troops—appointed Service to be on Wednesday at 3 oClock P. M.—obtained an Account of the number of the Prisoners taken by Capitulation the 17th Inst

"Cries Burgoyne, 'They may be reliev'd;
 " *That* army still may be retriev'd,
 "To see the King if I be let,'
 "No, sir! 'Tis not the etiquette."

It is now known through Shelburne's Revelations that the prime cause of Burgoyne's failure was in the blundering negligence of Germaine, in not promptly sending Howe his orders to coöperate with the expedition from Canada.

England has often undergone greater disasters, but hardly any blow ever more affected her pride. That a fine army of the very best British and German troops should squarely surrender to rebels,—unrecognized, despised, hated rebels, with arms in their hands,—this was something John Bull never contemplated, when he cheerily began taxation without representation.

Viz	British	2442	Gen ^s Burgoyne
	German	2198	Maj Phillips ¹
	Canadian & Tories	1200	Br ^d Hambeton

Total 5840 M. Reidesel ²

besides Women & Children which were many—visited the Hospital with Mr Plumb found it in good order, but Scarcity of Surgeons—An Account of the Ordnance taken in the Nothern department—

Bennington 5 Cannon

Fort Schuyler 2 D^o

———— 4 Royals 5 inch

Beamus's hegst^s 8 Cannon

taken with the Army at Saratoga two 24 pounders

two 12 D^o

twelve 6 D^o

four 3 D^o

five Royal Howitzers, two eight inch D^o

5000 Stand of Arms—large number of Musket Cart-ridges, travelling Forges Ammunition Waggon—

21. This Day Ensign Ramdy buried with honors of war—receiv^d Letter from Mr Foster—Wrote Home & to Cap^t Batchelder p^r Post—Cool & Rainy—
22. Nothing material to Day Cool & windy—visited Hospital with Mr. Plumb—
23. Settled the Mess account with Col^o Littlefield & Major Lithgow, due to them £5: 14^s: 8^d. Gen^l Poors Brigade marched down the River—Wrote Home by Adjutant Francis.—
24. Col^o Storer buried with the honors of War—Gen^l War-

¹ Major-General William Phillips was Burgoyne's second in command and a member of Parliament. Had had large experience in Europe, commanding the artillery with distinction at the battle of Minden.

² Major-General Baron de Riedesel, of an old and wealthy baronial family, commanded the German contingent. His beautiful wife shared his captivity. Her sprightly memoirs have been very popular, affording the most interesting incidents of the campaign.

ners¹ Brigade of Maletia marched for the Southard—fair Day—

25. Gen! Learned's Brigade marched, paid M^r Shepard Taylor ten dollars & $\frac{1}{4}$ & two & half y^{rs} of Canvass, for making my Cloaths &c

Sunday 26. Preached in the presbyterian meeting House in Albany from Ps. 126, 1, 2, 3. M^r Evans prd in the afternoon—rained all last Night—

27. This Day Gen! Glover set off for Boston with Gen! Burgoyne & the other Captive Gen^{ls} &c—Gen! Gates granted me leave of absence for three months—obtained a warrant to draw my Ration Money to the 26th Inst: receiv^d of the Paymaster Gen: 159 Dollars for Rations—drew from the State Store two Shirts 3 Doll & $\frac{1}{2}$ each—one pair of fulled Stockings from Contin! Store a Doll: & $\frac{1}{3}$ —Wrote for Major Lithgow to his Brother Cap^t Sam! Howard at Boston—rained all Day—

28. A heavy rain all last Night & this Day—the Troops ordered into Houses in the City, the Camp being all afloat.—

29. Rain ceased last Night: began again at 1 °Clock this afternoon—receiv^d Six Dollars of M^r Hodgson for my Gun—took a certificate of Col^l Trumbal of my pay receiv^d to 1 Oct! & Rations to the 26th

30. Left Albany at $\frac{1}{2}$ past eight Stop^d at Mickle's 11 Miles New Elizthton—dined at Hammonds Phillipston 7 miles—reached Duglass's in New Lebanon at half past five, 8 Miles—roads extreme bad, the Bridges Carried off by the late delugeing Rain: Cool & pleasant—

31. Lodged at Duglass's—dined at Parmerleys in Richmond 8 miles—oated at Eastons in Pittsfield 7 miles—at dusk reached Plumbs in Hertwood 7 miles—Snow on top of the Mountain—Cool—

¹ Seth Warner, of Bennington, at which place he participated in the victory over the British. He was an active and vigorous officer.

- November 1. Lodged at Plumbs in Washington—Breakfasted at Bushes in Becket—roads extreme bad—dined at Taggets in Blandford—reached Sackets at the foot of the Mountain.
- Sunday 2. Lodged at Sackets—breakfasted at Westfield arrived at Rev^d Lothrop's 11 o'clock p^m for Him P. M. Ps: 126. fair Day—
3. Passed the River 9 o'clock dined at Bliss's Wilbraham, overtook Genl Burgoyne in Palmer; reached Brookfield at Sunset—
 4. Lodged at my Mothers—rode in Company with Burgoyne & his Retinue to Worcester—dined there—the Division of Germans in Town—reached Rev^d Whitney's Northboro at Evening—fair & pleasant—
 5. Lodged at Rev^d Whitney's¹ last Night; reached Mr Stone half past Six—
 6. Reached Home at 12 o'clock, a N. E Storm—

NOTE.

The diary records the incidents of his life at home until December 31st. It is interleaved in an almanac published by Daniel George at Massachusetts Bay.

The reader will remember that Mr. Hitchcock sent home his journal. Perhaps if that document had been preserved we should have had a more full account of his impressions of the campaign than the diurnal notes have given us.

The following diaries for portions of the years 1779 and 1780 were recorded on ordinary note-books.

Stone's History of Beverly (pp. 275, 276) contains two letters dated at Valley Forge, May 15, 1778, and Camp Greenwich, July 23, 1778, written to his intimate friend, Captain

¹ Rev. Peter Whitney, author of a History of Worcester County. Our chaplain had seen service in the half year since he went out from his home a simple minister. Now he came fresh from the triumphs of his companions in arms. And in the same train were King George's generals made captive and escorted by rebel victors.

Josiah Batchelder, Jr., who was in the quartermaster's department. Both letters dwell on the patience of the army under its sufferings. There are also two letters from West Point (pp. 277-280) dated July 13 and October 12, 1779. The first is very gloomy, and we cite: "No period of the controversy "has appeared to me more critical and alarming than the "present. The country is asleep, to appearance, totally inattentive to what ought to be their grand object—defence. "The currency is on the eve of destruction."

1779

April 7th Set out this morning early for Camp—The roads soon became dry & fine passing—the weather very warm—preached on the Sabb. for the Rev^d Mr. Breck¹ Springfield—joined company with Col^o Shepard² & Major Cogswell,³ came thro Westfield, Symsbury &c. joined my Brigade at West Point

17. Found them in fine health & Spirits—late Learned's Brigade here also—put up at headq^{rs}—sent my Horse to D^r Van Wick's for keeping—cool & windy today—

Sunday 18. This day very cold & high wind—so that we could not have service—find the living much more comfortable than I expected—sent a line home by D^r Scott.—

¹ Robert Breck was settled at Springfield in 1736, and there was a smart controversy over his theological opinions before the parish became quiet. He was a man of great learning.

² William Shepard, colonel 4th Massachusetts regiment, a brave and efficient officer, who participated in twenty-two engagements during the Revolution. In the Shays Rebellion he served as brigadier-general and saved the arsenal at Springfield.

³ Thomas Cogswell of Haverhill, Mass., was a captain at Bunker Hill, He was promoted to lieutenant-colonel, 15th Massachusetts regiment. November 26, 1779.

19. The weather abates some—Intelligence to Day from Gen^l McDougal¹ that the Enemy are leaving the east end of long Island & are moving toward N. York—apprehensive y^y may attack this place, he orders the works to go on with all dispatch—went up to Forts Putnam² & Web—the former appears to be a very strong hold—situated on a high rocky point, overtopped, indeed by some Mountains in the rear difficult of access, but in front not assailable contains a magazine finished, two bomb-proofs one completed—a large bomb-proof in fort Arnold a considerable part of it nearly completed—
20. This day the chain³ was extended across the River; tis secured at each end by large piers—size is enormous—Wrote home by Mr. Wescot sent two 60 Doll bills weather more comfortable.—
21. This day the Rev^d Mr. Mason left the Garrison—I took possession of his Room—D^r Thomas brings an account from Philadelphia that several Dutch Vessels had arrived there—his account of high prices from thence exceed any this way & further east—fine Day—
22. This day they began to add to the thickness of the parapet in the Bastions of Fort Arnold that looks down the River—pleasant weather.—
23. Gen^l Orders from Gen^l Washington for the whole Army to hold y^{ms} in y^e utmost readiness for moving at y^e shortest notice—y^t no officer have a chest on any pretence—as the Portmantuas are given them by

¹ Alexander McDougall, major-general in the army, was an efficient officer. He superintended the difficult embarkation of the troops after the defeat at Long Island. He took command of the posts on the Hudson March 16, 1778, and with Kosciuszko built the fortifications at the Highlands.

² Maps of the Hudson and plans of the fortifications may be consulted *Nar. and Crit. America*, VI., 451-459.

³ *Nar. and Crit. America*, VI., 324.

Congress,¹ high south wind.—receiv^d letter from Major Hull commanding at the lines—

24. Accounts today from Boston of several very valuable Ships taken off Georgia by the continental Frigates.—

Sunday 25. Divine service at eleven oClock, ours & late Learneds² Brigades attended pr^d Matt: 6. 33—dined with Col^o Kosciuszko³ — Col^o Marshall & Cap^t Greenleaf came to camp, Lieu^t Goodridge & Ensign Shaw—receiv^d Letters from home, the account of 24th confirmed—an exceeding fine day.— baptized child of Richard Northover a Soldier of the Train, by the name of Mary—

26. Pleasant weather—

27. This afternoon I went down to Fort Montgomery in the barge with Col^o Baily & &c—surveyed the ruins of that miserable old Fort, returned to Robinson's Farm, a beautiful house & situation, but much damaged done it by the Virginia^s encamping there last fall, drank Tea with Mr. Dikeman who lives on the farm; reached home at dusk after a very agreeable tour—fair & pleasant, but somewhat dry.

28. This morning fell a very refreshing shower of rain, about 2 hours long—cleared off fair & pleasant—P. M. went over to see the ruins of fort Constitution tis situated on our Island opposite West point—Cap^t Marshall's company only upon it.—

29. Major Furnald, D^r Wingate & I went over to M^r Mandevilles & drank Tea—this appears to be a very

¹ If Congress had been able to control the abuses of officers' baggage, it might possibly have grappled with the Continental currency.

² General Learned was in poor health and obliged to retire from the army.

³ Tadeuz Kosciuszko, a Polish patriot and one of the most romantic characters of the Revolution. Recommended by Franklin, Washington asked him what he could do. "Try me," was the reply of genius. He planned the encampment at Behmus' Heights, where Gates made his stand, and the fortifications at West Point. The cadets properly showed their gratitude by placing a fine monument there.

agreeable Family; possessed with the polite & more important accomplishments.

30. Violent storm of snow & rain last night, continued till noon—then cleared away, wind continued high the flag staff blew down in the gale—dined with Col^o Kosciuszko¹—sat for miniature portrait—

May 1. May opens fair & pleasant—

Sunday 2. A fine shower this morning—cleared off about 9 °Clock very warm & pleasant—divine service at 11 °Clock Ps: 18. 23.—dined at headquarters.—

3. The Regiments pass^d muster—drank Tea at Col^o Jackson's.²
4. In the course of the last night came up a tempest of lightning lasted a considerable time almost incessant—attended with shower of rain—the morning opened fine & pleasant. Accounts from Gen^l M^c Dougal's—that a British fleet, destination not known, was stranded on the Coast of France—its contents 7000 men, most perished—the rest fell into the hands of the French.—drank Tea at Col^o Mellor's.—
5. Wind very high at N. W. married Serg^t Bates and Mrs Lucy Gun³—
6. This day observed as a publick fast thro y^e united States—divine service at eleven °Clock, the garrison generally out—pr^d Joshua 7. 13.—dined at headquarters Mr. Mandeville & Family over—news from the southard of Gen^l Lincoln's defeating y^e enemy & taking 500—very high wind—cool.—
7. Wind continues high at N. W.
8. Pleasant, today.—

¹ As indicated above, Chaplain Hitchcock made himself agreeable everywhere. Otherwise he would not have been dining with Kosciuszko, and we shall meet him often at the Mandevilles.

² Michael Jackson of Newton, Mass., colonel 8th Massachusetts regiment of the Continental line.

³ We have had a christening already, and we shall be surprised by the marriages often made by the enlisted men.

- Sunday 9. Divine service today at 11 o'clock — pr^d Ps :
119. 165. Dr^t Hall was here, their Brigade, Poor's
about marching to the westward—Baptized Lydda,
the daughter of George Wilson and Letty his wife, of
Cap^t Buckland's company, train—wind breazd up
again about noon—baptized, Adaulph, Son of John
Degrove of the above company—
10. Dined at Col^o Kosciuszko, went with him Col^o Bailly¹
&c to Mr^t Dickman's, drank Tea—
 11. Wrote home by Mr^t Poland, Col^o Marshall Kosciuszko
& Meller dined with me this day—very warm &, for
the season, dry.
 12. This day Col^o Littlefield came to camp—receiv^d a letter
from home, dated April 30th—it began to rain gently
toward night, continued the evening—
 13. Steady rain all night, continued the whole day—
 14. Dined with Col^o Kosciuszko — fair day — Mr^t Avery
came here.
 15. Wrote home today, by Col^o Carlton, to Rev^d Willard &
Mr^t Ward—Reports that a large detachment of Trans-
ports left N. York very lately, supposed bound to
Georgia—tis said they have taken down a number of
houses in the city—An expedition ags^t the western
Indians seems now to be certain, one division to go
by way of the Mohawk River, under command of
Brig^d Gen^l Clinton—another by the Susquahannah,
under command of Brig^d Gen^l Maxwell—a third by
fort Pitt, on the Ohio, under Brig^d Hurd—the whole
to be under command of Gen^l Sullivan² — much is to
be expected from the Zeal & Intrepidity of those
Gallant Officers & the brave & hardy Soldiers who
are selected for the purpose.

¹ John Bailey of Hanover, Mass., colonel 2d Massachusetts regiment, Continental line. He did good service against Burgoyne, and was a brave and faithful officer.

² John Sullivan of Durham, N. H. Major-general in the army; held many important commands. This expedition against the Six Nations was thoroughly successful. Poor's brigade participated.

Sunday 16. Divine service at 11 o'Clock M: Avery pr^d
 Jn^o 3. 33. fine day—a court of examination sat today
 upon the suspected persons bro^t into camp from the
 Clove 17 in number, two of the worst having made
 their escape — one James Allen who was lately
 wounded in the leg with a party of Robbers¹ who
 made their escape, he was left behind & is one of the
 above number, says, that they were lately from N.
 York & that Gen^l Clinton & M^r Matthews Mayor of
 the city, gives every encouragement to their robberies,
 rewarding every considerable feat in that way, & that
 the Mayor had offered them a large reward to burnt
 Governor Clintons & Livingston's houses & take
 their persons which they had promised to effect in
 two months—he mentions several robberies which
 have been committed & by whom, & where some of
 the articles were hid in the woods, which have been
 found according to his description, which renders his
 other accounts more credible—two of them were
 hired, by Clinton, to cross the country up to Brant &
 Butler to give intelligence, & call upon them to stir
 up all the Indians & Tories possible to make what-
 ever inroads they could on the frontiers, & make
 their way down as far as possible into the country, in
 three divisions all to meet at or near Esopus—to draw
 the attention of the people that way, while the Tory
 refugees made depredations from York up this way
 —O Clinton² how art thou fallen, from commanding
 an Army of Britons, to be the ringleader of a banditti

¹ These were probably "Cowboys," semi-organized British marauders, who oppressed the region between the two armies. They were opposed by American bands, who were called "Skinners." The names indicate the unlovely character of their vocation.

² Sir Henry Clinton succeeded Howe as commander-in-chief of the British forces in January, 1778. He was not eminent, but few of his comrades were. Lord North, remarking on the qualities of the generals they were sending to this country, said: "I do not know how these names will strike the enemy, but they fill me with terror."

of Robbers! His account appears to be fair & honest, & has been found true in several instances—Gen! Washington's conduct seems to be founded on the knowledge of this, in sending three Brigades to the westward; one in each of those routs.—Another of the robbers was bro^t in today, who, said, Allen knew & was with in several robberies—

17. M^r: Avery return^d to Fish Kill—two more persons bro^t in today under suspicion—The remainder of Gen! Poors Brigade set out for Easttown via Fish Kill—
 18. Gen! Nixons & Huntingtons¹ Brigades ordered to march for Easttown—A report today that the Enemy have landed a party at Hackensack—measured for a pair of boots.—
 19. Wrote home & to Esq^r: Batchelder to send by Post to-morrow—rainy day—drank tea with Col^o Kosciuszko.
 20. Sent my letters to the post office but the post was gone—an exceeding rainy day—wind S. W. we hear that a boat, in which Cap^t: Baily & others went down to or near Tarry Town is taken with the hands if not the officers.
 21. Rain continued till night—a flag from N. York up at Peek's Kill—bound for Fish Kill—
 22. The boat we heard was taken came up, it proved to be another boat with a Lieu^t: & six men; to whose capture the flag seems to have been accessory—cloudy today but no rain—
- Sunday 23. Divine service today at 11 o'clock pr^d Job 21. 5. 6, an exceeding fair, pleasant day after a long storm, which makes the face of Nature appear very beautiful—Wrote home N^o 5, by Serg^t: Eaton.
24. Col^o Meller & I went over to Mr. Mandeville's in the A. M—dined & spent the day there—extreme warm

¹ Brigadier-General Jedediah Huntington of Norwich, Conn., graduated at Harvard in 1763. He was in the court-martial which tried Lee for misconduct at Monmouth.

today.—reports of the Enemies doing mischief at Virginia, particulars not yet learnt—tis said to be done by y^e detachment that left N. York, not long since—

25. An exceeding growing season—warm & pleasant—
26. An express last night informs that a considerable party of the Enemy are out & that they have a number of batteaux in Spikingdevil Creek—D^r: Wingate & I went up to Fish Kill landing dined with D^r: Skinner at M^r: Van-Vorough's repeated small showers detained us there till four o'clock—set out for the Barracks, reach^d them before Sunset—supped & spent the evening at Col^l: Hays with M^{rs}: Gates—Col^l: Bedlow, M^r: Avery not at home.
27. This day we walked home by Danforths ferry—reach^d the point about four o'clock—found all hands hard at work to prepare for the reception of the enemy ags^t they / do not / come. Lieut Lunt arrived at Camp by whom receiv^d letters from home to the 19th inst.—

The infantry ordered up from the lines. Major Hull with three light Companies to be at Chroton River, the others to join their respective Regiments—

The Enemy in their late excursion killed two men near white plains & took several others—about the same time a party near Hackinsack murdered an old man upward of ninety year old—& committed several other instances of barbarity & robbery.—

28. This evening came into camp with a letter of introduction from Esq^r: Clarke, the Rev^d M^r: M^r: Orkel a Presbyterian clergyman from N. Carolina—he has made application to D^r: M^r: Water to preside over a new erected Academy in the interior parts of that State—The D^r: favors the invitation & the Presbetry are to meet, on the subject of his removal, next Wednesday.—cloudy.—
29. Went round and viewed the works with M^r: M^r: Orkel, he set on his journey about ten o'clock—very warm

today, growing season—orders from Genl M^c Dougal for all to be on fatigue, to loose no time in preparing to give the enemy a proper reception if they should / not / come.—

Sunday 30. Wrote home N^o 6, by Lieu! Noyes, inclosed to M^c Emery—every man on fatigue ergo no opportunity for service— At 3 °Clock P. M. I went over to the people in the read C^{hh}, a few families attended—as we were going to C^{hh} met an express from Genl M^c Dougal, informing that the enemy are coming up the river in force—we attended service, Saml 2. 3, the command! sent orders for all to repair to their quarters immediately, which we did, found the men very vigorous in preparing for an attack—warm day.—

31. Accounts this morning that the enemy are moving up slowly.¹ Their number of ships, said to be 30 or 40, tis said also that they have a fleet in the east river—their army still on white plains, from 5 to 7000, mentioned.—

Some alarm guns fired bet= one & two °Clock those at King's ferry² having fired some hours before, but were not heard, at the time the enemy's fleet appeared in Haverstraw bay—the number of guns denote their fleet to consist of 25 sail the three first to indicate 5 sail & each one after, the sam number, in consequence of this we packed up our spare baggage to send off—I put on board Col^o Littlefield's chest, my blue coat—three pair stockings—one of silk, 1 black, 1 blue worsterd—my box of notes—one pair shoes, & plated spurs—I pair of leather breeches, folded in my narrow sheet—frequent firing at Kings ferry most of the afternoon, cannon appear to be heavy.—several

¹ This expedition was under Sir Henry Clinton, and its object was to take Stony and Verplanck's Points.

² King's Ferry was below Fort Montgomery and just above Stony Point.

small showers today—at sun set I was sent for to go on board the Lady Washington Galley to marry—Jn^o Thompson & Abia Chase—

Evening—we are just informed that Gen^l Huntington's Brig^{de} has arriv^d at Danforth's ferry opposite this point.—The designs of the enemy seem entirely uncertain yet—whether they are to attack this post or do mischief in Conneticut—very warm today.—

- June 1. About 2 °Clock this morning Col^o Pattin came into garrison with his regiment from Haverstraw—Major Hull came on early this morning—the block house near Kings ferry, commanded by Cap^t Armstrong is invested—a moderate cannonade began below between 7 & 8 °Clock—continued till near twelve & ceased, from whence we conclude the block house has given up—half past 12—an express just arriv^d with dispatches from Gen^l Washington, which left him yesterday—Adj^t Francis went with them to Gen^l M^c Dougal—M^r Francis return^d with an account that Gen^l St Clair ¹ was at Pump-ton, yesterday noon, with a division of Troops, on his way to our assistance—the block house still stands out, the enemy finding little benefit from firing, ceased—

This afternoon a number of volunteers, Officers & Soldiers went up to the high point of rocks called block house hill & erected a considerable breast work sufficient to contain about 100 men—this a company of maletia came into camp from up river.

2. Wrote home N^o 7 to Rev^d Gannett p^r Post. This morning accounts are that the enemy have dropt five miles down the river—The reports of this day are various & uncertain—some inhabitants, who have observed from the heights, say there are no vessels this side Tarrytown—others that there is one at Kings

¹ Major-General Arthur St. Clair will be remembered as having evacuated Ticonderoga before Gates took command. He was a man of parts and a skillful officer, though he was not favored by fortune.

ferry—The most probable account of things seems to be— That the block house capitulated last night on condition of marching out with the honors of war, having their baggage wearing their side arms &c—the enemy had raised a battery against it render any further opposition useless—that their Troops are landed at that place & across the river at Haverstraw—a deserter says 5000 at the former & 1500 at the latter place—

Gen! M^r Dougall moved quarters to Fish Kill—Governor Clinton ¹ is there with, tis said, 2000 Maletia—Gen! Parsons's ² Brigade expected there this night—Huntington's betwixt here & there Col^o Clarke of the 1st Carolina Reg^t came in from Paramus, his Reg^t encamp^d at the Iron works about 8 miles out—pleasant day—wind at N. W.—

3. This morning things remained quiescent—Col^o Clarke's Reg^t came into camp about 11 o'clock—About one P. M. a Serg^t & three, a party of observation, came from the east side, informed that a heavy column had reach^d the village, about 7 miles from this—between 2 & 3, an express was sent from fort Montgomery, informing that some Galleys & a number of boats appeared in view—in half an hour a second came, & says, they are coming on & their number increased continually—

Cap^t Soper came up from reconnoitering at King's ferry, & informs that the enemy's fleet came to anchor in Peek's Kill bay, their number he thinks is upward of fifty—an express informs that Gen! St. Clair was at Pumpton last night—Col^o Malcom

¹ George Clinton, first governor of the State of New York, served in that office continuously from 1777 to 1795. No comment on this fact can make him a more shining mark. He showed great energy, both in civil and in military capacity.

² Samuel Holden Parsons, brigadier and afterwards major general, of Lyme, Conn., succeeded General Putnam in the command of the Connecticut line.

goes down to the furnace with the Maletia—Major Hull commands the light infantry—This evening Gen! Parsons came to the garrison to take command—he inform that observers from the other side say their troops had moved back to Peek's Kill—Gen! Nixon's Brigade came down near Danforth this evening to encamp—it is the prevailing opinion that an attack will be brot on to morrow morning very early—with this expectation I desire to commit the cause to that God who rules over all & is able by the smallest exertion to vindicate an injured people; & who I trust, will make bare his arm for our help—and shew the enemies of our land & liberties, that the events of war are in his own hand; & therefore that no weapon formed against his C^{hh} & people shall ever prosper.—

4. The enemy's fleet not in view from fort Mongumery, this morning—a boat of observation went below & discovered them near Kings ferry—they continue thereabout all day, make no movement as we can learn—they celebrated the Kings birth day by a feude Joye as usual—the day & fair & pleasant, rather warm—wind at south—
5. Very little passing today—the enemy lay much in the same situation they did yesterday—the wind high at west—the surface of the earth begins to be dry—Gen! Deportail came to the point this day.—

Sunday 6. This morning I attended service with the light infantry on block house hill at 9 oClock pr^d Deut. 31. 6, the men all on fatigue, ergo no opportunity for service in camp—Lieut Peterson with a party of observation, & others, mentions that the block house is standing—and there is some appearance of a camp—but tis said, their transports are mostly gone down with troops—they are throwing up works on both sides the river at the ferry— This evening joined in marriage Eliphalet Griffin & Joanna Cary—

7. Went over to M^r Mandevilles, dined & drank Tea—the enemy much in y^e same state—
 8. This morning about nine o’Clock the garrison was graced by the arrival of his excellency & suit Gen^l M^r Dougall &c &c—they reconnoitred the neighboring ground—& in the afternoon return^d headquarters is in Smiths Clove—
 9. Wrote home N^o 8, & to Rev^d Willard p^r Post—the enemy have advanced a picquet about a Mile west from the ferry—things remain quiescent—the works go on, but with less vigor—a new work began on the Island—very warm today—
 10. A most refreshing rain fell last night attended with some thunder & lightning—the air exceeding clear & pleasant—The enemy remain in the same state they were; tis said they are cutting forage in the neighborhood of their camp, which does not look like tarrying there long—they seem disposed to carry on other than a predatory war at present. — Rev^d M^r Kirkland¹ came into garrison, on his way to join Gen^l Sullivan in the western expedition against the Indians.—
 11. Things remain in statu quo—various reports today, of a French fleet on the coast, the affairs at the southard—one says Charlestown is take, another that Gen^l Lincoln has beat them &c &c. I shall for the present, set them all down for falshoods—Gen^l Pater-son came to camp.
 12. The enemy chased one of our guard boats—they have a party cuting on the west side, for what purpose we dont learn—a fine growing season—Gen^l order for Service at 4 Clock tomorrow & no fatigue.
- Sunday 13. This morning it began to rain about eight o’Clock

¹Samuel Kirkland of Norwich, Conn., was a pioneer in the Oneida country. He had great influence with the Six Nations and attached the Oneidas to our cause. He founded Hamilton Oneida Academy and its successor, Hamilton College.

dined at Headquarters—just after dinner a letter from Gen! Green informs that Gen! Lincoln has had an action in which the enemy lost 1480, killed, taken & wounded—that the account admits of very little doubt—rain continued most of the day, very plentifully, & ergo no public service.

14. This afternoon Gen! Washington¹ came into garrison. The account from the southard is further confirmed by a letter he has receiv^d from a member of congress—with some particulars, viz—That the enemy had reached the lines at Charlestown & made one attempt to assail them, but were repulsed—were about to attack, the second time, Gen! Lincoln came up with his body in their rear & routed them with the above loss—if this be true, & tis tho! there is very little room to doubt it, I think we may hope for something further favorable from the situation of that ground—I dined with Col^o Littlefield—repeated showers toward night, 12 deserters came out this day they say their roll is called every hour in the day; & that any soldier caught 300 yards without their guards is punish^d with 300 stripes without benefit of court martial—how can they carry on their operations without confidence in their Troops?
15. This morning his excellency receiv^d the following account from the southard,—viz “Copy of handbill from Baltimore June 9th

Mr! Jo^s White, a gentleman of reputation, this moment arrived from Edenton N. Carolina & brings the intelligence of the defeat of the British Army from Georgia, before Charlestown S. Carolina which by a rapid march they had invested about the 19th ult: ; having, tis said, been encouraged to commit that rash act by

¹ The great American was in this season at the most critical point of his career. In the light of his final success, we cannot comprehend how he was humiliated and misunderstood. Lee's utterance voiced the feelings of the Cabals, “a certain great man is damnably deficient.”

their evil counsellors, the tories—The particulars of this great event are gone forward to congress by express, and may be speedily expected—M^r White obtained his information from the hon^{ble} M^r Hughes of Edenton; who just as he left that place, favor^d him with the perusal of a letter from Charlestown—advising that the enemies forces, supposed to be under the command of Gen^l Provost, consisted of 3700—That they cannonaded the town upwards of three hours to little effect; killing only 2 or 3 of the garrison during the siege, which was suddenly raised by the gallant exertions of Gen^l Moultrie & his troops, who had, to the number of 1500 previously entred the town, aided by Count Pulaski, his corps & a noble band of citizens who have all gain^d immortal honor—That a sally of volunteers closed the scene before the Town whence the enemy fled with y^e utmost precipitation, leaving 553 dead on the spot, & did not halt till they had run ten miles—That they had but 2 or 3 Days provision left—& as 4500 had advanced within 15 miles of Charlestown under Gen^l Williamson, & Gen^l Lincoln at the head of 2500 men had entered Jacksonborough on penpon river, 36 miles from that capital & had taken all the enemies baggage, burning the village at the alarm Time for lack of righteous inhabitants; it was generally believ^d they must fall into his hands—That an insurrection in the Town would have aided their attempt, had it not been prevented by the execution of 40 of the Traitors.”

I wish the above account may prove true.

16. This morning opens pleasant. Wrote home N^o 9, & to Rev^d Willard—per Post; the intelligence from southward further confirm^d but not officially—rain^d P. M.
17. Accounts from below that the enemy are taking their baggage on board, look like their leaving that place, Gen^l Parsons drank Tea with me this evening, & gave me the following account of an expedition

against the Indians¹ &c on the back of Virginia. Col^o Clarke of that state penetrated the settlements back of it reducing the little villages to obedience, & administering the oath of allegiance to them—he took several little garrisons, among others Fort Vincent, left a garrison & proceed on westward, giving protection to the inhabitants mostly French, the Indians generally fled—while he was carrying conquest some hundred miles—Governor Hamilton of Fort Detroit, collected a party of, mostly, Indians—came down to Vincent /150 miles,/ & retook it—Col^o Clarke hearing of it, near 200 miles distant, march^d in the month of February & laid siege to it with a body of men he had collected from his new subjects with two rounds a piece; he previously entered a small Village & ordered such of the inhabitants as chose protection under Britain to move of to them immediately with their effects, & such as w^ld follow him, he would protect—they unanimously adhered to him—he obtained a barrel of powder from them—he held the fort besieged by getting under cover of some ground within small shot of it which look^d into the Ambrazure they had from which they took off the men in attempting to manage it—He demanded a surrender of the fort—Hamilton desired three days to determine, expecting a reinforcement; Clarke, aware of that demanded an immediate surrender or he would storm and put all to the sword—in the meantime sent off a detachment, who ambushed & routed them, killed some & took some Indians who he hung up immediately in the view of the fort; upon which gave up himself & garrison which consisted of six officers and 100 men; who he sent under proper escorts

¹ The operations on the whole western frontier against the Indians were triumphant. The camp news was much more trustworthy from this direction than that which came up from the South.

down to Virginia. Col^o Clarke¹ is said to be one of the most enterprising genius's in the country—& the above justifies the character.

A large party from the main body came in today, for fatigue, to be reliev^d in one week in one week by the same number said to be a 1000; upward of 200 detached from Nixons Brigade upon the Island² to compleat the works there, to be reliev^d in the same man^r.

His excellency went up to Fish Kill this evening, after having spent most of the day in reconnoitring the neighboring ground, in which he has been indefatigable ever since he came to the point.—

18. Tis said the enemy's shipping, except one galley, are dropt down; & that they have left all the ground but Stony point, on the west side.
19. The above report proves false—His excellency left the point this day for his quarters in the Clove³—Mr Avery came on the point to tarry—

Sunday 20. Gen^l M^r Dougal came on, to take command—Gen^l Parsons moved over to the east side, his Brigade pitch^d near the red C^{hh}, No service to day—men all on fatigue.

further accounts from southard strengthning the credibility of the former; but nothing official yet.

¹ George Rogers Clarke, a Virginian and settler in Kentucky. His summons to Hamilton in facsimile may be seen, Nar. and Crit. America, VI., 727. His career justified Hitchcock's comment. One of the greatest of the capable American pioneers, who grasped the origins of empire when feeble legislatures and narrow provincial councils cowered at home.

² Constitution Island, often referred to, was opposite West Point, where the great river sharply twists from south to east and even north-east to avoid the massive rocky point. The turn makes the eastern shore, lying in the curve of the main stream. Marshes connect it with the main land. The famous chain stretched from Fort Clinton to this island.

³ Washington's headquarters were at Clove. This post hamlet is in Dutchess County, about eleven miles southeast from Poughkeepsie.

21. Accounts today from Gen^l Huntington that deserters say the enemy have sent all their women down—& are take their cannon on board—
Married Henry Smith & Phebe Cockswain—late Brewer's Reg^t—
22. This day I had the pleasure of a long & equally agreeable packet from home p^r M^r Wescot—Gen^l Parsons receiv^d from Gov^r Tryon¹ a handbill, containing a broken account from Georgia of their success in south Carolina—a very feeble support under their misfortunes there—a letter accompanied it inviting Gen^l Parsons to embrace this opportunity of returning to their former allegiance to the parent state.—
His excellency came into camp to day, made but little tarry, very warm.—
23. Wrote N^o 10 p^r Post inclosed to M^r Ward Salem very warm to day
24. The society of Free Masons celebrated the feast of S^t John²—I delivered a discourse to them I Jn^o 3. 11—Major Hull delivered a short Oration—a good dinner & some agreeable songs, grand & inspired by his Excellency's presence formed the remaining scene—he receiv^d a letter from Gen^l Green informing that the reason of an official account having not yet arriv^d, was; that expresses had been intercepted—but that the fact was true of the defeat of the enemy at the southard, Gen^l Heath³ took command on the east side—

¹ William Tryon, an Irishman and colonial governor, was appointed to New York in 1771. England has sent many excellent colonial administrators into all parts of the world. With them have been some of another sort, and Tryon was one of the inferior proconsuls.

² Chaplain Smith (Guild's Life, p. 253) records his attendance on this occasion to hear Hitchcock's sermon.

³ William Heath of Roxbury, Mass., major-general in the Continental line, was distinguished in civil and in military life. Commander of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery, he wrote upon tactics and was useful

25. Col^s Bailey & Tupper¹ dined with us—very warm—
26. I din^d with Gen^l Parsons on roast lamb & green peas—receiv^d a card from his excellency to dine with him at New-Winsor tomorrow. Wrote home N^o 11 by M^r Wescot, sent 300 doll^s — very warm weather.

Sunday 27. This morning I perform^d service to my Brigade in the new Barruck at 9 °Clock from I Cor : 15, 33,—went immediately up to Head quarters New Winsor—in company with Col^s Tupper, Pattin &c—preach^d to the Gen^l, Family : & guards &c—Job, 27, 5, 6, return^d to camp after dinner much fatigued—Tis said the enemy are moving down the river—further accounts from the southard, corroborate former ; but none official—a considerable shower on the river about 11 °Clock—

28. The enemy's force is gone down the river—except a Galley & some small craft—& 600, 'tis said, on each side to keep garrison—whether this movement is a decoy, or to make desent other where, or from some other cause is not certain.

The day has been warm, but nothing equall to this day 12 months.

29. His excellency & suit went down to fort Mongumery by water — Col^o Hamilton² informs me that the enemys strength left at their new post, is 800 on this

¹ Benjamin Tupper of Stoughton, Mass., was made colonel of 11th Massachusetts regiment in 1776. Before the close of the war he was made a brigadier-general.

² Alexander Hamilton has been classified by competent authority among the five men of the first class in Revolutionary times—men who would have been great in any country and any time. He had been on Washington's staff since March, 1777. He was his secretary and much trusted in planning the campaigns.

in pursuing the British from Concord. A member of the Committees of Correspondence and, after the war, of the convention that ratified the Federal Constitution.

side & 600 on the east—warmer today than yesterday.

This day I receiv^d a Certificate sign^d by Col^o Bostwick, of forage money due on my account from July 5th 1777 to Sept^r 28—from Nov^r 1 D^o to March 2nd 1778, —£41 : 8^s, N-York currency.

30. Din^d at Gen^l M^o Dougall's! Warm as yesterday—

July 1. This day I receiv^d my wages & subsistence from Nov^r 1, 1778 to March 1, 1779, 500 doll^s, by the hand of P. M. Allen.—

Wrote home N^o 12 & to Rev^d Willard p^r Cap^t White—who together with Cap^t Jenkins has resign^d. Made a visit to Gen^l Heath. Reports of another successful action at the southard.

2. Wrote to Rev^d Upham & Hilyard by D^r Thatcher, reports of further success at the southard—nothing Authentick—cool & comfortable—

3. Wrote home N^o 13, & to M^r Herrick, p^r Lieu^t Chadburn.—

Sunday 4. Divine service in the new barracks at nine o'clock—Heb : 3, 12, 13, some officers & a few Soldiers attended—the most on fatigue—at 1 o'clock thirteen Cannon were discharged from the garrison, as many from the galley, in celebration of the Anniversary of American Independ^{ce} declare the fourth July 1776.

Din^d with Gen^l Parsons—heard M^r Baldwin preach at 5 P. M. Exodus 12, 14,—warm day.

5. This day we have account that a party of Continent troops & some Maletia from the state of Virginia, surprized & disperse a considerable body of Indians with some British Troops & Tories who were forming an expedition against the back parts of that state—destroyed many of them—took & demolished their magazine of provisions—& laid waste twenty of their towns or villages.

this has been warmer than any day this season has produced—M^r Baldwin &c din^d here.

6. This M^r Avery & I went to Gen^l Nixon's dined & spent the day, about five o'clock came up a thunder shower, rain considerably, some severe lightning—one flash struck in Col^l Putnam's¹ Reg^t—it first took a stake about eight feet high, ran into the ground under a large rock which it split & ran along thro the Tents of Cap^t Whipples company—killed one man who lay asleep with his head near his gun, scorched & wounded about twelve more, one or two dangerously, the others slightly,—an alarming provid^e indeed for poor thoughtless sinners! the unhappy victim appeared to have no external wound about him.—
 7. Wrote home N^o 14, enclosed to M^r Ward ; p^r Post.—Accounts of the enemy burning East Haven & were marching for N. Haven.
 8. This afternoon I had a turn of the collick, a disorder very brief in camp, the number of our sick encrease very fast.
 9. Accounts that the enemy have burnt Fairfield & were pursuing to Norwork²—reports from the southard that the enemy are captured there—
 10. Wrote home N^o 15, p^r M^r Andrew Thorndike, accounts that 4000 troops are on their thro' Horse Neck to join impotent Tryon in fulfilling the measure of his iniquities on the Sound.
- Sunday 11. This morning about 9 it began to rain, it encreased & continued all day, attended with a high southerly wind,— very cool for the season.—

¹ Rufus Putnam of Sutton, Mass., after the war founded Marietta, Ohio. He was a millwright and then common soldier in the French war. His ability in throwing up defences at Roxbury impressed Washington. The General wrote Congress that the millwright was a better engineer than the experts from France, who were getting appointments. With his cousin, Israel Putnam, he superintended fortifications at West Point.

² This was Tryon's raid into Connecticut.

12. This day has been uncommonly cool for the season—unwell, took an emetick P. M.
13. We hear the enemy have burnt Norwalk—A number of Col^l Tuppers Officers applied for discharge.—
14. Wrote home N^o 16, & to Esq^r Batchelder largely on our necessities, p^r Post—

A letter from President Jay to his Father informs that the Islands of Guernsey & Jersey are captured by the French, that Mons^r Gerard had announced it in Congress—That Lord O'Conerly at the head of 15000 in the west associated under Lord O'Neal for the defence of the country,—probably a revolt—that Gibraltar & port Mahoon are besieged &c—

15. Wrote home N^o 17, by L^t Goodridge. This morning his Excellency came down from headquarters at N. Winsor by sun rise—and went down the river, return^d just at Night—his having been down frequently of late and observing the situation of affairs about Kings ferry—the light infantry being all ordered to join Gen^l Wayne¹ by eight o'Clock this morning near the furnace—Gen^l Nixon's Brigade ordered to march to day but a detachment of 250 only gone—ours ordered to march tomorrow, to be ready to cross the river by five Clock—these circumstances prognosticate some enterprize in view—what it is, will be determined best when executed.—

A high wind at N. W.—

16. This morning was introduced by the agreeable intelligence of Gen^l Wayne and the Infantry having taken Stony point² last Night at one Clock by Coup de main.

¹“Mad Anthony” of Chester County, Penn. The epithet was not fully descriptive, for he was as discreet and cautious as he was brave. A colonel in 1776, he was made a brigadier-general February 21, 1777. Altogether he was a most efficient officer.

²Stony Point on the west side and Verplank's Point opposite were at the Narrows, below the Highlands, with King's Ferry between. These

Genl Wayne's body consisted of seventeen Companies of light troops—about 1200—the attack appears to have been judiciously plan^d & as well executed—He possessed himself of the strong fort without firing a gun; sustained the loss of about 30 killed and wounded—of the enemy 120 were killed & wounded, four of the former, officers—381 and 24 officers taken—in consequence of this important and agreeable intelligence Ours & the remainder of Nixon's Brigade ordered to march immediately—Ours cross^d the river A. M. remain^d on Nelson's point till towards night when they moved off, and to my great mortification left me behind, being not well eno' to travel, and my horse at Lichfield; I went as far as Mandevilles and, painful as it was, return^d back to the point—

17. This morning I borrowed a horse, to ride to the Brig^{de}. They camp^d at the continental Village last night—I found them on some broken ridges within a mile of the enemy's works, which appear very strong—those on Stony point, look formidable. I left the brigade at 5 o'clock to return—met two, 12 pounders, brass, a mile in their rear—after I came away they filed to the right, by the crick; a little cannonade upon them—return^d to W. point in the even^g; a number of boats gone down the river

Sunday 18. This day our brigade retired from Vam Planks point up to Continental Village—Clinton on his march with whole army:

Genl S^t Clair's division came on the Point—a number of the wounded bro^t up in boats.—

19. Genl Howes¹ & Heaths divisions return^d to the other side the river.—

¹ Major-General Robert Howe was a patriot of North Carolina, previously trained as a soldier in the British service. He was well educated, a good tactician and an engineer.

works were planned as outworks of West Point, and were taken by the British in June.

The loss on our side in the late action was 11 killed and 62 wounded—a great quantity of military stores brought up from Stony point—the works demolished & the place evacuated.

20. The Brigade return^d to the point this day evening—
21. Wrote home N^o 18 and to D^r Spofford p^r Post. This evening I receiv^d the most sensible pleasure by the favor of an agreeable letter from my dear Achsah from July 1st to the 12th and another from Brother Willard of the 6th, by M^r Poland.

This day his Excellency removed on to the point—took quarters at the red house.

Gen^l Waynes orders¹ previous to an attack upon the British garrison on Stoney Point.

The troops will march at 10 o'clock & move by the right making a short halt at the Creek or Run, next on this side Clements= every Officer and noncommissioned Officer will remain with & be answerable for every man in their platoons—No Soldier to be permitted to quit the ranks, on any pretence whatever, untill a general halt is made, & then to be attended by one of the Officers of the platoon—when the Van of the troops arrive in the rear of the Hill Z, Col^o Febeser² will form his Reg^t into a solid Column of half a platoon in front as fast as they can come up—Col^o Meigs³ will form in the rear of Febeser, & Major

¹ A splendid military exploit planned by Washington, who instructed Wayne in his own hand. The orders show how carefully the whole scheme was considered and projected to certain success. The "short halt at the Creek" probably was an element in the success, insuring exact coöperation. Wayne's execution was as good as the plan.

² Christian Febiger, a Dane, served with marked ability throughout the war.

³ Return Jonathan Meigs of Middletown, Conn., was an efficient colonel. After the war he was settled at Marietta, Ohio, and became an Indian agent. He was known among his clients as "The White Path."

Hull in the rear of Meigs; which will form the right Column—

Col^o Butler will form a column on the left of Febeser & Maj^r Murphy in his rear—every Officer & Soldier is then to fix a piece of white paper in the most conspicuous part of his Hat or cap to distinguish him from the enemy.—

At the word, *March*, Col^o Fleury¹ will take charge of 150 determined & pick^d men, properly officered, & with musquets unload^d placing their whole defence on the Bayonet, will move about 20 paces in front of the right Column, by the route N^o 1, & enter the sally port, 6, he is to detach an Officer & 20 men a little in front, whose business it will be to secure the Sentries, remove the abbatis & other obstructions for the column to pass thro'.—The column will follow close in the rear with shouldered Arms, under Col^o Febeser, with Gen^l Wayne in person—When the works are forced, & not before the victorious troops will enter & give the watch word—(*The Fort is our own.*) with repeated & loud voice; & drive the enemy from their works & Guns, which will favor the passage of the whole.

Should the enemy refuse to surrender, or attempt to make their escape by water or otherwise, vigorous measures must be used to force them to the former, and prevent them accomplishing the latter.

Col^o Butler will move by the route N^o 2, preceded by 100 men with unloaded arms & fixed Bayonets under the command of Major Stewart,² who will observe a distance of 20 yards in front of the column, which will

¹ Louis Chevalier and Viscount de Fleury, a descendant of the Cardinal, was educated in France as an engineer. Lieutenant-colonel in our army, he was the first to enter the works and struck the British standard with his own hand. Congress voted thanks and a silver medal for his brilliant exploit.

² John Stewart, born in Ireland, was Wayne's brother-in-law. Congress awarded him a gold medal for gallantry.

immediately follow under the command of Col^o Butler, with shouldered Musquets, & enter the sally ports, C or D,—the officer commanding the above nam^d 100 men, will also detach a proper officer & 20 men a little in front to remove the obstructions; as soon as they gain the works they are also to give, & continue the watch word will prevent confusion & mistake.

Maj^r Murphy will follow Col^o Butler to the first figure 3 when he will divide a little to the right & left & wait the attack on the right, which will be his signal to begin, & to keep up a perpetual & gauling fire, & endeavor to enter between & possess the works, A. A.—

If any soldier presumes to take his Musquet from his shoulder, or attempt to fire, or begins the battle until ordered by his proper officer, he shall be instantly put to death by the officer next him, for the cowerdice or misconduct of one man is not to put the whole into danger or disorder with impunity—After the troops begin to advance to the works, the strictest silence must be observed, & the greatest attention paid to the commands of the officers—As soon as the lines are carried, the Officers of Artillery, with the men under their command, will take possession of the Cannon, to the end the shipping may be secured, & the post at Vamplanks point annoyed as much as possible to facilitate the attack on that quarter.

The Gen^l has the fullest confidence in the bravery & fortitude of the Corps he has the pleasure to command; the distinguish^d honor confer^d on every Officer & Soldier, who has been draughted by his Excellency Gen^l Washington, the credit of the States they respectively belong to, & their own Reputation, will be such powerful inducments for each man to distinguish himself, that the Gen^l can^t have the least doubt of a glorious Victory; & further he solemnly engages to reward the first man who enters the works with

500 dollars & immediate promotion, to the second 400, the third 300, the fourth 200 & the fifth 100 dollars, & will represent the conduct of every Officer & Soldier, who distinguishes himself on this occasion in the most favorable point of view to his Excellency who receives the greatest pleasure in rewarding merit.

But should there be any soldier so lost to every feeling, to every sense of honor, as to attempt to retreat one single foot, or shrink from . [missing] . . danger, the officer next him, is immediately to put him to death, that he may no longer disgrace the name of a Soldier, or the corps, or the State, to which he belongs.

As Genl Wayne is determined to share in the danger of the night, so he wishes to participate in the glory of the day in common with his fellow Soldiers.—

July 15, 1779.

A. Wayne

In the action—of our men—Killed 2 Serg^{ts}, 13 Privates—Wounded 1 Brig^d Genl — 1 Lt Col^d — two Cap^{ts}—three Lieut^s — ten Serg^{ts} — four Corporals & 64 privates—

Of the Enemy—Killed 50—Wounded Prisoners 544, twenty eight of whom were Officers.

22. This day I receiv^d a letter from M^r Garnett, and wrote to him by Cap^t Sumner—
23. The plunder of Stoney point sold, at enormous prices—Wrote to Rev^d M^r Stone.
24. Wrote home N^o 19 and to Rev^d Willard,¹ by Cap^t Whiting, my mare came in from pasture in good flesh.
- Sunday 25. Rain^d all day—ergo no Service—Wrote to the Rev^d M^r Gad Hitchcock ² p^r M^r Samson—
26. A general council of war, held today at headquarters prognosticates some movement, not long first—This

¹ Joseph Willard, D. D., LL. D., was settled at Beverly, Mass. He became president of Harvard College in the following year.

² Gad Hitchcock, D. D., was minister at Pembroke, Mass.

day some Coffee, Tea, Chocolate & Sugar arrived from the State—the only stores they have sent us since last spring—the last were issued before I arrived at the point, on the 17th of April—

Very pleasant day after the refreshing rain, yesterday.—

27. This morning I received from the State Store, for myself & waiter—10½ lb Sugar 1^s, 1½ lb Tea 2 doll. ½ lb Chocolate at half a doll per pound—total 5 dollars—in this country Sugar is sold at 5 doll p^r lb.—Tea at 30 d^s—The difference then, in Tea, is as one to fifteen, and in sugar as one to thirty, which is our loss.—
28. Last night a Sub: & 15 or 18 privates deserted from Col^d de Armong Regiment at Crompond.
29. Rain^d last Night—
Extract from Gen^l Orders.

Many & pointed orders have been issued against that unmeaning & abominable custom of swearing¹—notwithstanding which, with much regret, the Gen^l observes it prevails, if possible, more than ever; his feelings are continually wounded by the oaths & imprecations of the Soldiers, whenever he is in hearing of them—The name of that being, from whose bountiful goodness we are permitted to exist, & enjoy the comforts of life, is constantly implicated & profaned, in a manner as wanton as it is shocking—for the sake therefore, of Religion, decency & order, the Gen^l hopes & trusts, that Officers of every rank, will use their influence and Authority to check a Vice which is as unprofitable as it is wicked & Shameful—if Officers would make it an invariable rule to reprimand, &

¹ Uncle Tobey's experience in Flanders has been often repeated. In our Civil war one of the first and rudest imitations of the contrabands (escaped slaves) was in trying to swear. They made wretched work of it. No swearing is elegant, but it should flow easily to justify itself, even from the profane point of view.

if that does not do, to punish Soldiers of this kind, it would not fail of having the desired effect.

30. This month has been rema'bly cool—
 31. Dined at Gen^l Heath's—not well to day
- Sunday August 1. Receiv^d a card to dine at head quarters—his Excellency and part of his Family attended Divine service with us at 5 o'clock Heb: 1, 13,—several deserters came in—every day produces 5 or six—rain^d in the morning—
2. This day pleasant—
 3. Receiv^d a letter from Master Herrick dated July 13, by Sipio—rain^d last Night—
 4. Wrote home N^o 20—and to Cap^t Israel Dodge p^t Post.—

We have various and contradictory accounts from abroad—We hear that we have taken their fleet & army at the eastward—Revington had it that they have taken ours—We have it Count D^e Estaing¹ has got advantage against the British fleet. He, that the British had the advantage of D^e Estaing & taken five of his ships.—The favorable account we are disposed to give the most credit to, from the circumstance of the enemy's drawing within King's Bridge, & fortifying below fort Washington. Cool & pleasant to day.—

5. This day our Brigade was mustered and review^d—I wrote to Brother Cutler p^t Major Bannister—warm at mid-Day—cool evening.
6. This day there has been some firing heard below, we have not heard the occasion, but suppose it was occasion^d by a body of our light Infantry which had gone down to reconnoitring.—
7. The firing yesterday was from a row-Galley upon some boats of ours,—rain^d last Night & all this day—

¹ Charles Henry Theodat Count d'Estaing was Vice Admiral of France, and commanded the squadron, which coöperated with Washington. In 1792 he was guillotined.

Sunday 8. Divine service at 5 o'clock P. M. Exod : 32, 26,
a fine day after the storm.

9. Account today both from Revington's paper and from Philadelphia, confirm former accounts of an action between the two fleets, in which D^e Estaing got the advantage . . . also of our success at Penobscot—particulars not come—

A heavy shower at mid Day—

10. Wrote home N^o 21, to Rev^d Smith and Cutler; and to the president of the Socy (?) [indistinct] Cap^t Francis who is going to procure certain Articles of Cloathing—Showery about noon—
11. Rain^d all the afternoon—took some Sal: absynthi & Rei—in vinegar.
12. Rain continued all night, warm, fine growing weather—very unwell—took an infusion of sena, manna & Sal: Tart :—
13. This day has been very warm.—
14. Extreme warm to day.

Sunday 15. Divine service at 5 P. M. M^r Avery preached to both brigades, Jn^o 17, 3,—not well able to speak myself—receiv^d a letter friend Plumb, by D^r Young, wrote to him by the same hand.—

Some further accounts of the W. India affair, from M^r Bingham, our Agent at Martineco—by which we learn the action was very severe—great damage was sustained on either side—but that count de. Estaing is triumphant in those seas

16. This is thought to have been the warmest day we have had this season.

by a letter from Gen^l Lovel, we learn that some of the enemy's outworks are carried—and that they have sunk two of their ships—

The affairs of Sullivan are thought to look doubtful on account of bad provision being sent him.—

17. A fine shower last night—the air cool & pleasant after the extreme heat of yesterday.—

18. Receiv^d letter from home dated Aug^t 6th by serg^t Eaton—warm today—
19. This day we receiv^d six sheeps from Esq^t Weads Canaan, by John—very acceptable indeed
20. This morning I went up to Newburgh with Col^o Brooks, return^d at evening—rain^d most of the day, the wind and tide against us—ergo not the most agreable voyage.

The following agreable and important intelligence came to camp—A. M.—from P. Sterling.—

That Major Lee with 300 horse and infantry has taken the fort on Powle's hook and brought off 150 prisoners, particulars not yet receiv^d —

21. Rain^d most of the day, reports this evening that Major Lee¹ was cut off in his retreat—nothing to be depended on—

Sunday 22. Divine service at 5, I Jn^o 5, 4, rain^d most of the night till toward noon, repeated showers all day—a very great quantity of rain has fallen in three days past.—

His excellency informs the army, in orders to day, of Maj^r Lee's feat—speaks of it much to his and the honor of his officers & men—

Wrote home N^o 22 & to brother Willard by Maj^r King.—

23. This day accounts came to camp of a british mail taken & carried into Philadelphia—containing some important dispatches.

Also from Gen^l Sullivan—that he has destroyed an Indian Town & laid waste their promising fields.

24. Pleasant to day—
25. Repeated showers to day.—

¹ "Light Horse Harry" was a favorite relative of Washington's. He was most efficient afterwards in Greene's southern campaign. The general said of him: "No man in the southern campaign has equal merit "with Lee." On this occasion he surprised Paulus Hook (Jersey City) and took 160 prisoners.

NEW DOCUMENTS FOR RHODE ISLAND
HISTORY, 1683-1684.

In the latest volume of the *Calendars of State Papers, Colonial, America and West Indies*, (1681-1685), issued by the British government "under the direction of the Master of the Rolls," there are several items concerning Rhode Island which have been either unmentioned or but partially noticed in Arnold's *History*. The documents are not given at full length, but the summaries, which we quote, are probably ample.

Much of the correspondence is devoted to the piracies which were so prevalent at the time in the West Indies. The Lords of Trade were continually reprimanding the New England colonists for harboring these pirates, who, commissioned as privateers, plundered foreign traders and disposed of the booty at American ports. As a matter of fact, the colonists frequently did countenance such privateering, and the following letter gives us some idea of the difficulties with which English naval officers had to deal:—

"Relation of T. Thacker, Deputy-Collector, 16th August [1683].—I arrived at Newport, Rhode Island, upon information of an unfree bottomed ship, one Paine commander. By seven or eight at night I had satisfied myself as to the character of the ship, waited on Governor William Coddington, and showed him my commission and demanded his assistance in seizing her. He put me off, promising to answer me next morning, by which time the pirates had time to arm themselves against arrest. I went to the Governor next morning, but instead of giving assistance he avouched her a free bottom as having a commission from Sir Thomas Lynch, Governor of Jamaica. I asked to see it, and it was presented by Paine, in presence of Governor Dongan of New York and Cranfield of

New Hampshire and others. It appeared to be a forgery, Governor Cranfield and others affirming that it was not Sir Thomas Lynch's hand, nor were his titles correctly given, but Governor Coddington was of other mind and declared her a free bottom. I answered that I dreaded the consequences, but that the responsibility must lie with him. Next day, the 18th, I again urged him to help to seize the ship and men, and especially Thomas Paine, as the Commission was certainly false, and the ship had not been to Jamaica but on a piratical cruise, and had plundered the town of St. Augustine. He replied that the Court of Law was open, and that if I could prove anything against Paine he would give me justice against him, but would not concern himself further. I answered that I had done my duty and would deliver my charge against him, not doubting to prove it, if he would help me to arrest him, but he again refused and also denied me a copy of Paine's commission. Next day he sent me word that he would send me a copy, but never did. On the 20th I reached Boston and sent him one of Sir Thomas Lynch's passes to convince him, but he would not see with eyes like other men" (p. 685).

Governor Cranfield corroborated this statement in another letter: "During my stay at Rhode Island two pirates came in. Pain was one of them, with a counterfeit commission from Sir Thomas Lynch styling him one of the gentlemen of the King's Bedchamber, instead of his Privy Chamber, whereby I knew it to be forged. Colonel Dongan and I asked the Government to arrest them, but they refused" (p. 514).

The chief reason that prompted Governor Coddington thus to evade his duty was that Paine, arch-pirate as he was, was a sturdy Rhode Islander. In his later life he abandoned his dangerous calling, became one of the founders of Trinity Church at Newport, and in 1690, during King William's War, won a brilliant naval victory over the French, "the first victory of Rhode Island on the open ocean." It is probably by this exploit, rather than by his piratical expeditions, that his descendants would wish him to be remembered.

Most of the Rhode Island items in these State Papers are in regard to the contest over the Narragansett country, or

King's Province. In 1683 this dispute was referred to a commission, which decided in favor of the grantees of Connecticut. Edward Cranfield, Governor of New Hampshire and head of the commission, wrote the following letter, dated October 19, 1683, to Sir Leoline Jenkins, President of the Board of Trade:—

"One, Mr. Wharton, brought a commission hither from the King to examine the claims to the Narragansett country. The Commissioners met on 22nd August at Mr. Richard Smith's house and ordered claimants to attend. All came except the Rhode Islanders, who sent word by their Marshal that we were an unlawful assembly. We proceeded with our work, and find that Mr. Wharton, Mr. Hutchinson, and several other gentlemen at Boston, are fair purchasers of Ninnicraft, the Indian King. The temper and methods of Government in Connecticut and New Plymouth is the same as in Boston, as corrupt but more ignorant. If the King take them into his hands as well as Boston, it will effect a general reformation. There is matter enough to furnish the Attorney-General with grounds for cancelling their charters. If the King knew what a mean and scandalous sort of people the Rhode Islanders are, I doubt not that he would prosecute their charter also. In my opinion no reformation can be expected so long as the college at Cambridge sends forth trumpeters of sedition among the vulgar" (p. 521).

This letter, in which is probably the first direct suggestion that Rhode Island should lose its charter, is merely an example of Cranfield's usual vituperation against the colonists, and Rhode Islanders in particular.

Appended to a letter of the same date to the Board of Trade, Governor Cranfield sent the following petition as evidence against Rhode Island justice:—

"Petition of Thomas Partridge to the King. My father, Alexander, was an inhabitant of Rhode Island in 1651, and was wrongfully kept out of his house and habitation by one Nathaniel Dickens. My father brought an action against Dickens and recovered the house, but Dickens, being ill-content, resorted to force and tried to break into the house

while my father defended it. In the fight that ensued a man was killed, and the Governor, who lived close by, endeavoured to disperse the people, promising that Alexander Partridge should be brought to legal trial. But in their rage they formed a Court of his enemies, condemned him to die, shot him, and put Dickens in possession of the house and land. I was reduced to great straits but managed to live, and last year I sued in the Courts of Rhode Island for my father's house, but could not get a hearing. I beg your Majesty's interference. I can prove my right and the truth of this petition. Signed, Thomas Partridge. Dated, 15th September, 1683" (p. 524).

This petition, if veracious, does not reflect favorably on Rhode Island courts; but Cranfield was never over-scrupulous about the truth of his evidence.

The plans of the Lords of Trade as to the disposition of the Narragansett country, although not carried out, on account of the death of Charles II., are worthy of mention. They intended to include this province in the united government of New England which was to be formed under the headship of Colonel Percy Kirk, of the Tangier Regiment. To the newly erected province—comprising Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Plymouth and Maine—they added, on November 17, 1684, the Narragansett country, and, on December 23, decided to instruct Colonel Kirk "to confirm all titles of land quietly possessed, reserving to the King a quit-rent of two shillings and sixpence per hundred acres, any dispute about title to be decided by the Governor in Council" (p. 752).

How the colonists would have received this new government, had Charles II. lived to see it completed, is doubtful. Although Colonel Kirk had not yet rendered his name immortal by the brutality which he exhibited in 1685 in western England, yet enough was known of his harsh character to make the thought of his coming a source of despondency. "Had this cruel, and horrid, and hideous tiger . . . arrived," says Cotton Mather in his *Parentator*, "what barbarities must this people have expected." But, upon the accession of James II., Kirk was called elsewhere, and New

England passed under the rule of Joseph Dudley and his council.

CLARENCE S. BRIGHAM.

LETTERS OF LORD ROBERT MANNERS, 1780.

The reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission of Great Britain have for thirty years been laying before the public a great wealth of information derived from the muniment-rooms of ancient families and corporations in the United Kingdom. Of the vast number of documents which have been printed or summarized by them a large number relate to American history. The Historical Manuscripts Commission, established for similar work in the United States by the American Historical Association, has prepared a list of these American items in the British reports, and will shortly publish it in their third annual report. This list gives references to a considerable number of papers relating to Rhode Island history, which are not familiar, I think, to Rhode Island students. Those which form new material fall into two groups, one relating to the naval operations of 1780, the other to the Gaspee affair. The former is now reproduced from the letters of Lord Robert Manners, then a young naval officer, to his brother, the Duke of Rutland (Fourteenth Report, Appendix, Part I, pp. 31-34). They throw much light upon the operations of the British fleet near Rhode Island in the summer of 1780. They show at least that the primary purpose was not merely to blockade the French fleet, but to attack Rhode Island itself. It was the fine numerical showing and strongly intrenched position of the French that finally induced the British to abandon the plan. The letters follow:—

I. (*Extract.*)

"1780, July 19th. The *Resolution*, off Sandy Hook . . . A small expedition to Rhode Island, a few foraging parties, will close the year, and leave nothing to be done but an expedition against Boston in the spring, and then the Americans

must lay down their arms, and with unconditional submission sue for peace on any terms we may please most graciously to give. . . . This very moment an express is arrived that the French squadron is at present riding at Rhode Island. Admiral Arbuthnot has made the signal to weigh, and we are proceeding with all the ships for the attack, leaving orders for all cruizers as they come in to be sent after us to Rhode Island. Our squadron consists of nine sail of the line, a 50-gun ship, and two of 40 guns. Sir Henry Clinton is embarking with 8,000 men, and will pass Hell Gates and so through the Sound, by which means he will be there as soon as we shall, since we must go round Long Island. This news and our being already under sail prevents me from sending this letter by the packet as I intended.

II.

"1780, July 22nd, at night, off Rhode Island, at anchor. Three days at sea brought us in sight of Rhode Island and the French fleet. We count at present 17 sail, 7 of which appear to be ships of the line, the others frigattes, but we are at too great a distance to determine; to-morrow, I suppose, we shall go in nearer. The troops are not yet arrived, but are expected to-morrow or next day, as they have a very favorable wind. There is one thing which I can't help remarking, as it appears extraordinary and almost unaccountable, that the French should be at anchor a week in Rhode Island without our receiving any information of it, in a country where we have so many friends, and the account brought by Capt. Lutwidge in the *Triton* utterly discredited, so certain were the people of New York of receiving immediate information if such an event should happen.

III.

"1780, July 23rd, at night, off Rhode Island, close in. We weighed this morning at daylight, and have been working up this whole day; we are at present at an anchor about two leagues off, where we have had a fine view of the enemy. They consist of eight sail of the line and six frigattes of 32

guns, moored across the harbour, seemingly well flanked with batteries; they carried out a hundred guns, which we perceive to be very largely distributed near and about the entrance.¹ The report is that the Americans have ceded Rhode Island to the French, and I believe with some truth, or else the French have taken possession of it, as the white colours are flying in different parts of the island; they have three encampments, and appear to be in readiness to receive us. To-morrow will probably make me somewhat wiser, when you shall know everything I am able to tell. God bless you, my dearest brother.

IV.

"1780, August 4th, Block Island. You will wonder at so long a delay when you probably expected to have heard in this something material, and I assure you it was for the sake of telling what you might wish to hear that I had waited so long. The next morning the Admirals, attended by two frigattes, reconaitred the place in a boat, where they found that the French have not been idle, for, besides the fortifications that we had erected during our possession of the island, which were not destroyed at the evacuation, they have thrown up several works. The little islands and rocks are well fortified with guns; the hills and other advantageous spots are planted with small batteries to annoy ships attempting the entrance, especially one battery, which is very strong and commands the whole entrance of the harbour, as it is situated on an island in the middle, and will rake every ship as it comes in. About noon the Admiral returned, weighed, and stood in for Block Island, where we now are, still riding in sight of the French, though at a great distance. On the 23rd the General's Aid de Camp arrived and informed the Admiral the troops were in Huntington Bay all embarked, and he was going to reconatre the place; a frigate was dispatch with

¹ The entire French fleet consisted of 18 vessels, not including transports. See Stone's *Our French Allies*, pp. 200-211, where the French occupation of Newport is fully treated.

him to Rhode Island, and also to inform the General we were all prepared. This day, the 4th of August, the Aid de Camp returned to inform the Admiral that General Clinton, from the information he had received, found it so strong as not to be attackt with any probability of success, and that he had not men enough for a regular attack, and has actually disembarked his troops. It is now twelve days that we have been here riding in the open sea, waiting for the army, and as without them the taking of it would be impracticable, the Admiral intends to proceed to Gardiner's Bay to wood and water the ships and refresh the people, as they begin to grow sickly, especially our squadron which came from Europe, some ships having 150 and 200 men sick. I am, I believe, in the most healthy ship in the squadron, having only 17 men ill; how long we shall remain so I will not pretend to say, as some begin to have symptoms of scurvy, and we have had as yet no fresh provisions or vegetables to correct it, and I hear we shall not get any great plenty where we are going. I will not seal this till the moment I send it, in case anything should arise worth relating. The attack, I beleive, is given up; however, we have a chain of frigates cruizing from hence to Rhode, and we still see them.

V. (*Extract.*)

"1780, August 14th, Gardiner's Bay. We have completed our water, and are going to sea immediately; our destination is a profound secret. The Admiral sent his first Lieutenant with a flag of truce to Mr. de Ternai, relative to some prisoners, and he is returned. The French have eight sail of the line and 6,000 troops, and are very strong; whether it is in consequence of this or any other intelligence that we are going out I cannot at all say, but it is a very sudden resolution.¹"

CLARENCE S. BRIGHAM.

¹The British fleet did not get to sea, however, being stopped by the sudden arrival of Sir George Rodney with ten sail. While awaiting his orders, they cruised off Rhode Island in sight of the French for nearly a month, and then set sail for the West Indies.

GORTON-MAPLET.

A goodly number of the readers of this quarterly are descendants of Samuel Gorton, and a still larger number are interested in anything concerning this sturdy man who stoutly maintained what he believed to be right in the face of fierce opposition and persecution. The following notes regarding his wife's relatives at Bath were recently copied:—

Slab in floor of north transept, Bath Abbey Church, England.
(Surmounted by coat of arms.)

"Here lyeth the body of Dr. John Maplet of the county of Middlesex, and one of the Physitions in extraordinary to King Charles the 2^d, who dyed August the 4th in the year of our Lord 1670, aged 55."

"Also here lyeth the body of Mary, the daughter of John Pocock Gentleman and Ann his wife, who departed this life January the 22^d 1698, aged 14 years."

"Here also resteth the body of Elizabeth, the wife of Henry Brookes A. M. Rector of Camerton & Henton Blewet, in this county, eldest daughter of John Pocock Gent, and grand-daughter of John Maplet M. D. and sister to the late Hon^{ble} Brigadier General John Pocock, who after a life spent in the service of God, in doing good to her neighbours, & in much patience under many years sickness, humbly commended & resigned her soul unto him on the 8 day of May 1729, in the 51 year of her age."

Another slab, next the first.

"Here lyeth the body of John Pocock of the County of Hants, Gent, once Mayor of this Citty, who departed this life July the 19th in the year of our Lord 1690, aged 47."

(Coat of arms here inserted on the slab.)

"Alsoe here lyeth the body of Anne wife of Doctor John Maplet, who departed this life February the 14th in the year of our Lord 1670, aged 35."

It is thus seen, in summary, that Samuel Gorton's wife's brother, Dr. John Maplet (a physician extraordinary to King

Charles II.), had by his wife Anne at least one child, viz., Anne, who married John Pocock (Mayor of Bath), and through her at least three grandchildren, viz., Elizabeth (wife of Rev. Henry Brookes), Mary (died unmarried) and John Pocock (Brigadier-General).

J. O. AUSTIN.

LETTER OF LADY BYRON, 1841.

FROM THE CHANNING COLLECTION OF AUTOGRAPHS.

The following portion is all that remains of a letter of Lady Byron to Rev. W. E. Channing. It is endorsed by him:—"Lady Byron, Feb'y, 1841."

"On the day of Napoleon's funeral I went among the crowd on foot, wishing to observe the people rather than the pageant. I did not see on any of the thousands of faces which passed by me, a trace of deep emotion. The common expression was that of children pleased with a toy. It is not that the love of military glory is extinct at present in France—I believe it to be the effect, rather, of a juster appreciation of the private character, and of a [grow]ing persuasion of the truth of what Cou[nt de] Molé said on his recent admission to the Inst[itute]—'Il y a moins loin qu'on ne pense des vertus privées aux vertus publiques.'

"You will probably have received Mrs. Joanna Baillie's new volume of poems,—less poetical than her Dramas would lead one to expect, but deeply interesting, as showing, in the domestic verses, so much of her own feelings—and yet without egotism.

"I have an affectionate remembrance of Mrs. Lucretia Mott. Pray tell her so, if you have an opportunity—the impressions made by such truthful characters do not pass away. What effect will Miss Martineau's 'Hour and Man' produce amongst you? I am conversing with you as with 'a friend,' for I feel happy in the privilege.

"Yours most sincerely,

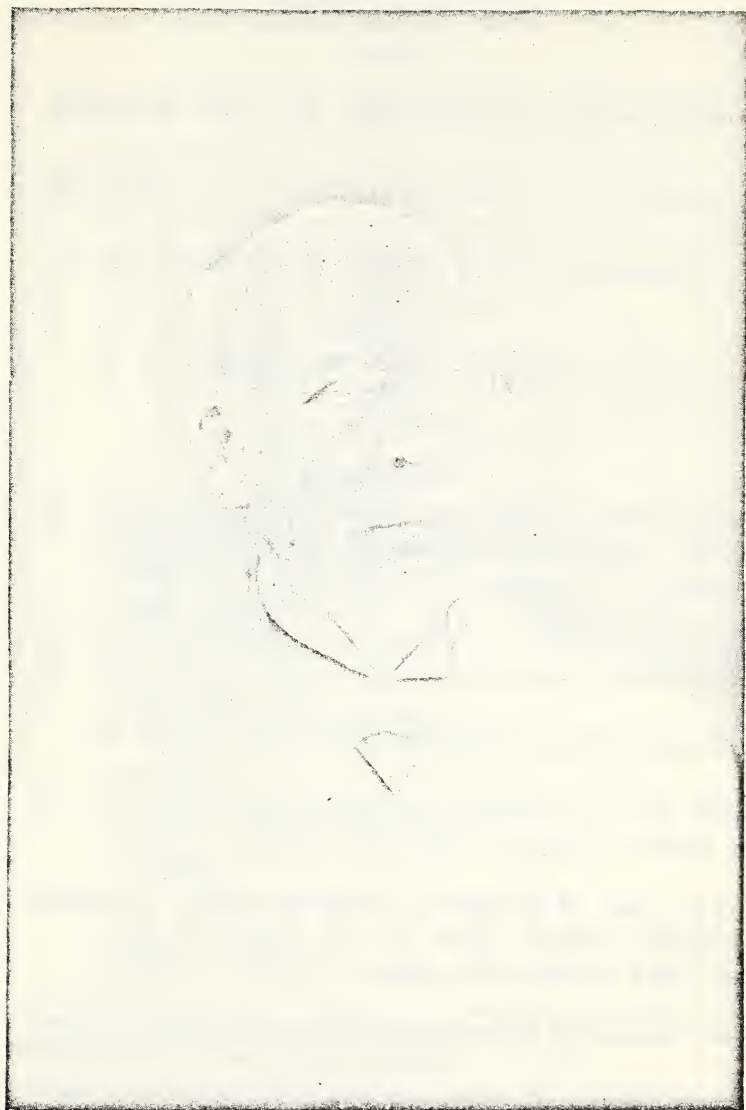
"A. T. NOEL BYRON."

AMOS PERRY.

Hon. Amos Perry, LL. D., Secretary and Librarian of the Rhode Island Historical Society, died suddenly at New London on August 10, 1899, within two days of the completion of his eighty-seventh year. An account of his varied career and of his singularly interesting personality may be expected to appear at a later time, in the annual necrology of the society. Yet without presuming to anticipate that ampler record, it is fitting that the Committee on Publications should not permit a new number of the quarterly journal to be issued without some words commemorative of one who had been so intimately associated with all the functions of the society during so long a period. In the first place, Mr. Perry was, by universal consent, the most prominent and influential member of the society. By reason of his long connection with it, his untiring zeal and industry in its behalf, his youthful vigor and enthusiasm, he was known, and was thought of as the embodiment of the society, by many citizens of Rhode Island who knew nothing else of it or its affairs. The disappearance of his familiar figure from our streets leaves therefore a noteworthy void, and sensibly affects the relations of the society with the community in which it is placed, and to which its publications are primarily addressed. In the second place, Mr. Perry's official relations to the society were of quite exceptional importance. Since January, 1873, he had been its Secretary, since the autumn of 1880 its Librarian and Cabinet-Keeper; and he was a member, and it may be said truthfully and without offence that he was the most influential member, of almost all its important committees. In these various functions he labored incessantly for the good of the society, and it would be ungrateful not to make an early and explicit acknowledgment of the benefits which have accrued to it during the past quarter of a century, from all this work and devotion.

In the third place, Mr. Perry stood in a special relation to this periodical. It is believed that the project of a quarterly

serial as the organ of the society originated with him. However this may be, during most of the period of its existence he has been its editor, entrusted by the Committee on Publications with its entire management, and almost solely responsible therefor. With his usual promptitude and New England "forehandedness" he had at the time of his death, two months before the time for the October issue, made ready nearly all its contents, and seen the greater portion through the press. Taking up the work at this point, the chairman of the committee has inserted all the pieces found on hand which were contributed by members, and what seemed at present practicable of the material which Mr. Perry had derived from the society's manuscript collections. The January number may be expected to contain the conclusion of the diary of Dr. Enos Hitchcock, edited by William B. Weeden. Aside from this, the committee put forth no programme at present, but content themselves with promising the society, in general terms, that they will do their best to make the *Publications* creditable to the organization, and interesting and useful to students of Rhode Island history.



Amos Perry,

PUBLICATIONS
OF THE
RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

VOL. VII.

JANUARY, 1900.

NO. 4.

DIARY OF ENOS HITCHCOCK, D. D., (*Concluded*).

EDITED BY
CAPTAIN WILLIAM B. WEEDEN.

Continued from page 194.

(1779, August.)

26. Rain^d last Night—this long spell of wet weather greatly endangers the health of the troops. Wrote home N^o 23 & to Rev^d M^r Upham p^r D^r Adams—dated thro mistake the 27th—Accounts that our fleet is blocked up at Penobscot. cool & comfortable.
27. This day accounts from N. York are, that Arbuthnot¹ is near with his fleet.—
M^r Wescot arrived—no letter for me, M^{rs} Hitchcock not well.—
28. The fate of our Penobscot expedition & of the fleet, arrived. Tis said Arbuthnot is actually arrived at N. York—
- Sunday 29. Divine service at 5 °Clock P. M. Acts, 2. 22.
His Excellency & suit Gen^{ls} Putnam—Heath—
Green²—Knox³ & suits—D^r Shipin⁴ Col^o Cox

¹ Marriot Arbuthnot, vice-admiral of the Blue, was in command of the British fleet on the North American station.

² Major-General Nathanael Greene of Warwick, R. I., ranked next to Washington in military capacity. His campaign at the South in 1781 brought out generalship equal to any in the war.

³ Brigadier-General (afterwards Major-General) Henry Knox was born

&c &c— A subject¹ on the tenth Sunday August 29, of christianity might not be amiss—further accounts that Spain has issued a manifesto charging Britain with a 100 articles of perfidy,—and that the French fleet had joined theirs to 75 in number.—

30. Extract from the orders of yesterday—

The commandr in chief has the pleasure to announce the following resolutions which the hon^{ble} the Congress have been pleased to pass for the benefit of the Army. The disposition manifested in the resolves is a fresh proof to the army that their country entertain a high sense of their merits & services; & are inclined to confer an hon^{ble} & adequate compensation.

The genl flatters himself the several states will second the generous views of Congress & take every proper measure to gratify the reasonable expectations of such officers & soldiers as are determined to share the glory of serving their & themselves thro the war, & finishing the task they have so nobly begun.

The flourishing aspect of affairs in Europe & the W. Indies as well as in these States gives us every reason to believe, that this happy period will speedily arrive.

In Congress Aug^t 17th Whereas the Army of the United States of America have, by their patriotism, valour & perseverance in the defence of their country, become entitled to the Gratitude as well as the Approbation of their fellow citizens—

Resolved. That it be & it is hereby recommended to

¹ A preacher seldom has a better opportunity than this distinguished company afforded. Dr. Hitchcock very modestly records his sense of it, for he speaks of Christianity and not of himself.

at Boston of Scotch-Irish stock. He commanded the artillery through the war and was much trusted by Washington.

⁴ Probably Dr. William Shippen, a physician of Philadelphia, and a delegate to Congress.

the Several States that have not already adopted measures for that purpose, to make such further provision for the officers & soldiers enlisted for the war, to them respectively belonging who shall continue in service till the establishment of peace, as shall be an adequate compensation for the many dangers losses & hardships they have suffered & been exposed to in the course of the present contest—either by granting their officers half pay for life & proper rewards to their soldiers, or in such other way as may appear most expedient to the legislatures of the several states.

Resolved. That it be recommended to the several states, to make such provision for the widows of such of their officers & of their soldiers enlisted for the war, as have died or may die in Service, as shall secure to them the sweets of that liberty, for the enjoyment of which, their husbands have nobly laid down their lives.—

Resolved, Aug^t 18.— That, untill the further order of congress, the Officers of the Army be entitled to receive monthly for their subsistence money the sums following— viz — each Col^o & brig^d Chapⁿ 500 dollars¹ & all others in proportion—each Soldier 10 doll^s p^r month in lieu of those articles of food originally intend for them & not furnished— An account of the cloathing due to the men to be made out in order for payment.—

Receiv^d letters from Rev^d Ward & Plumb—

31. Col^o Davidson² and Dr^r Burnett dined here—very cool towards night.

September 1st West Point. This intelligence from Philadelphia that an ordnance ship taken from Arbuthnot's fleet had arrived containing 26 piece of brass ordnance, and other very valuable articles.

¹ The fathers appreciated their chaplains well in the matter of pay.

William Davidson, of Rowan County, North Carolina.

2. Wrote home N^o 24 by M^r Wescot who left the point about noon—sent 100 doll^s — Received p^r post, a letter from brother Willard dated Aug^t 23, which informs me of the situation of my family—it came P. M. I wrote a line and sent it after M^r Wescot— Wrote to Rev^d M^r Ward p^r M^r Whiting.

3. Rainy, dull day.

4. Very little passing—

Sunday 5. Divine service at 5 o'Clock P. M. the Rev^d M^r Blair¹ preach^d for me, from Matt: 7, 12. His excellency & a large number of gentlemen present.— cool to-day—

6. Col^o Cox A. Q. M. G. observed in company with his excellency & others, that by the calculation of a number of gentlemen at Philadelphia that the quantity of currency now in circulation does not amount quite to 143,000,000 dollars, ergo, the depreciation far exceeds to the quantity.

7. Some accounts from Gen^l Sullivan, that he has had an engagement with the united force of Butlers² Brandt &c the enemy, they fled and left twelve Indians dead and all their baggage trinkets &c, which he took, tis said Gen^l Poor distinguished himself on the occasion. Accounts from N. York are that an embarkation is taking place there—how large or where destin^d is not known—

Of the French taking an English 74 and a mast ship in the W. Indies—

8. Wrote home N^o 25 enclosed to Rev^d M^r Willard p^r Post.

¹ Probably Samuel Blair, D. D., who was chaplain of the Continental Congress.

² Colonel John Butler, a prominent Tory, commanded a regiment of marauders, traitors and vagabonds dressed like Indians.

Joseph Brandt (Thayandanega) was a Mohawk chief of ability, who held a colonel's commission from the King. He lived at the head of Lake Ontario after the war.

9. A shower last night— This day Dr. Hart¹ & I went over to Genl. Nixon's Brigade return^d at evening.
10. Tis said a large embarkation certainly taking place at York—their destination not known, Boston is conjectured by many.
11. This day we had a report that Count d. Estaing has had another successful action near Antego and taken six ships—I wish it may prove true.— very unwell to-day—
- Sunday 12. Divine service at $\frac{1}{2}$ past four P. M. I Cor: 15, 19. Cool for the season—a shower last night—
13. This day has been cool—buried a 9. month's man of late Brewers Regt from Boxford.—
14. This morning I took a powerful cathartic—of Cen; An-seed, cream Tar: infusion dissolv^d in it Man: Glob: Sal: lenitive electuary—to be followed with the heuestis salinis—
15. This afternoon his Excellency, de la Luzerne,² Ambassador from the court of Versailles, arrived in camp—his arrival was announced by the discharge of 13 cannon— He has fine personality—his countenance indicates a healthy body & placid mind—appears to be between 40 & 50 years old. This day I have been very unwell.
16. This day I visited a poor, unhappy man of the N. Carolina troops, under Sentence of death for desertion. He appears very ignorant of divine things—but much affected with his state—He was seduced by a fellow of the same Regt., who has been forging discharges for a number of men, for which crime he ran the gauntlet yesterday & was drum^d out of the Camp—& is now in a miserable situation by Danforths, not able to move—
17. The coolness of the weather abates.

¹ Probably Levi Hart, D. D., who was minister at Preston, Conn.

² Anne César de la Luzerne, a distinguished diplomatist, was minister until 1783. He was much esteemed and beloved by our people.

18. This day I dined at Headquarters—Accounts from Philadelphia that the Spainiards have invested Gibraltar—
The poor fellow of the N. Carolina Brigade pardoned ; some care has been taken of the one who was scourged.
Purchased at the state Store— $5\frac{1}{4}$ lb of sugar at one shilling pr lb.
- Sunday 19. Divine Service half past four I Cor : 9-25, his excellency & family present—warm & pleasant.
20. Wrote home N^o 26, pr Sergeant Day of Cap-Ann, pleasant day.
21. This morning the light infantry marched between day & Sunrise toward Stony point—in consequence of reports that the enemy were about evacuating that place—Tis said they have left Van Plunks point—nothing certain from that quarter.
22. No news from below—ergo—conclude the reports of yesterday were groundless.
23. Receiv^d a letter from M^{rs} Hitchcock dated Sep: 8^h the first after her illness—
24. There are still appearances of a large embarkation at N. York—Tis said they are bound for Ireland, that there is a revolt in that country.
25. Gen^l Paterson & Col^o Tupper chosen to go to court ¹ to represent the state of the army &c &c—
- Sunday 26. This day it rain^d — ergo no service—
27. This day fair and pleasant, the coming of Count d. Estaing revived—
28. Wrote home N^o 27 by Col^o Tupper. Mr. Guild from Coll : arrived on the point—by whom I receiv^d a letter from M^r Gannett—fine day.
29. Conducted M^r Guild round to view the works—introduced him to Gen^l Washington & family—we dined at headquarters—
30. This morning about 8 o'clock M^r Guild took boat for

¹ The General Court of Massachusetts.

Murderers creek on his way to Philadelphia. accounts the Count d. Estaing was off S. Carolina the 8th inst, bound to Georgia.

October 1. This month comes in fair and pleasant, but very little news.—

The N. Carolina Brigade march^d from the Island via N. Windsor—the light infantry marched from Cakerat.—

2. Wrote home N^o 28 p^r. Cap^t. Walcot—

Sunday 3. Divine Service at 4 changed with Mr Baldwin p^rd Gen^l. Parson's Brig^{de} Prov: 14, 14.—very warm—

4. The carpenters taken from the works to build boats—Pilots collecting—which encreases our expectation of Count d. Estaing.

5. This day I dined with Gen^l. Putnam—The Lieut Girard came to camp—lowry—rained last night.

6. This day I dined with Friend Baldwin—spent the P. M. at Gen^l. Heath's—cloudy & cold.—

7. Reports to-day of the English being burned at the southard.

8. Wrote home N^o 29 & to cousin Phebe by Friend Baldwin sent 200 Dol. Accounts from Sullivan at Wyoming on his return—his success has answered expectation—He has destroyed 160,000 bushels of corn—forty towns, one of which contained 125 framed houses, besides a number of small Villages—with the loss of less than 40 men including all killed in action, died of their wounds & sickness— Lieut Boyde & 20 men sent out on a party, were surrounded, all killed; the Lieut & one man, mangled in a most barbarous man^r. —A second freight of Germans, 220, carried into Philadelphia; the first amounted to 156 & 6 Officers—

This day ¹ nine deserters from the Enemy to-day—they say accounts in N. York are that the British fleet at Georgia is taken—also Provost.

¹ Ninth omitted, probably.

Sunday 10. Divine Service at three o'clock P. M. 2 Cor :
1, 12. warm & pleasant.—

11. Received of Mr Pierce Dep^y P. M. G. 961 $\frac{1}{3}$ dollars—My
Pay and subsistence from March 1st to Sep^r 1st—
Received of Mr Knowles for Dr Spafford 237 dollars—
12. Dined at Gen^l M^c Dougalls—A shower at evening
attended with thunder & Lightning.—
13. Wrote home and to Esq^r Batchelder—N^o 30 p^r. Post :
fair but windy—
14. This day, fair & cool—
15. This day Col^o Freeman & Major Osgood arrived at
camp ; a committee from the court—
16. The committee opened their commission to the Officers
of the Line— They made choice of Majors Hull &
Furnald to join a committee to be appointed from
court to make a settlement of arrears due to the
Army.—

Sunday 17. No service to-day, the men all at exercise—
Gen^l Orders of this day—

“The commander in chief has now the pleasure to congratulate the Army on the Compleat & full success of Major Gen^l Sullivan, and the Troops under his Command, against the Senecas & other Tribes of the six Nations—as a just and necessary punishment,—for their wanton depredations, unparalleled & innumerable cruelties, their deafness to all remonstrances & intreaty, their perseverance in the most horrid acts of barbarism—Forty of their Towns have been reduced to ashes—some of them large & commodious—That of Chenisse alone containing 128 Houses—Their crops of Corn have been entirely destroyed, which, by estimation, it is said, would have produced 160,000 bushells, besides a large quantity of Vegetable of various kinds—their whole country was overrun & laid waste—& they themselves compelled to place their own security in a precipitate flight to the British fortress at Niagara—And the whole of this has been done with the loss of less than 40 men on our part,

including the killed, wounded & captured, & those who have died natural deaths.—

The Troops employed in that expedition, both Officers & men, thro' the whole of it & in the actions they had with the Enemy, manifested a patience, perseverance & valour, that do them the highest honor.

In the course of it, when there still remained a large extent of the Enemys country to be penetrated, it became necessary to lessen the Issues of provisions to half the usual allowance. In this the Troops acquiesced with most general & cheerful concurrence, being fully determined to surmount every obstacle & to prosecute the enterprise to a compleat & successful issue.

Major Genl Sullivan, for his great perseverance, & activity, for his order of March, & Attack, & the whole of his dispositions, The Brigadiers & officers of all ranks & the whole of the Soldiery engaged in the expedition, merit the Commander in chiefs warmest Acknowledgment for their important Services upon this occasion

18. A rough calculation of the Arrears due to the Officers of 15 Battallions on supposition their cops were fully as at first— The whole amount of one years pay is 240660 multiplied by
3 is 3

721,980 for the three years

20 — depreciation

14439600 due as the medium now is—

Dr. Wingate & Capl Francis came to camp—Received Letter from Octl 2nd & from Cousin Phebe—from Revl Cutler dated Sept 20—

19. Extract from Genl Orders.

The Commander in chief is happy in the Opportunity of congratulating the Army on our further success—
By advice just received ;

Col^o Broadhead ¹ with the continental Troops under his command, and a body of Maletia & Volunteers, has penetrated about 180 miles into the Indian country laying on the Aleghana River, burnt ten of the Muney & Seneca Towns in that quarter, containing 165 houses—destroyed all their fields of Corn, computed to comprehend 500 acres; besides large quantities of Vegetables, oblidging the Savages to flee before him with the greatest precipitation, and to leave behind them many skins & other articles of Value.

The only opposition the Savages ventured to give our Troops on the occasion was near Cusuking, about 40 of their warriors, on their way to commit barbarities on our frontiers were met here by Leut^t Hardin of the 8th Pensilvania Reg^t at the head of our advanced partys, composed of 23 men of which 8 were of our Friends the Delaware Nation, who immediately attacked the Savages & put them to the rout, with the loss of five killed on the spot & of all their Canoes, Blankets, shirts and provisions, of which, as is usual for them when going into action, they had divested themselves, & also of several arms; two of our men & one of our Delaware Friends were very slightly wounded in the Action; which was the only damage we sustained in the whole enterprize.

The activity, perseverance & firmness which marked the conduct of Col^o Broadhead & that of all the Officers of every description in the Expedition do them the highest honor, & their services justly intitle them to the thanks, & to this testimonial of the Gen^{ls} acknowledgments.

20. Wrote home N^o 31, & to Rev^d Cutler—sent portrait p^r Mr Wallis—
21. Dined at headquarters—Just at Major Lyman come over from Gen^l Heath with the important intelligence of the evacuation of Stony & Verplank's Points, which took place about midday.

¹ David Brodhead, colonel 8th Pennsylvania, was distinguished in several campaigns against the Indians.

22. Took a cathartick infusion of Cena, manna &c very weak and relaxed—

23. Went over the river obtain order for a horse at Danbury—

Sunday 24. Rained A. M. No service—very unwell—

25. A report that Count d, Estaing is in Cheasapeek bay—

26. This day I receiv^d of Cap^t Porter 121 doll^s the amount of a horse ration account left with Q. M. Francis.—

27. This day I left West Point having obtained leave of absence for the recovery of my health—reached Salem at Night

28. Lodged at Major Bushes last Night, came thro Danbury. Reached Reading.—

29. Lay by at Gen^l Parsens's extremely fatigued—

30. M^r Guild came on, passed to Fairfield—P. M. I rode to Rev^d Tenants.

Sunday 31. Delivered a Ser: Job 27, 5, 6. went to Fairfield between meetings—after Service M^r Guild & I proceed to Stratford.

November 1. Arriv^d at N. Haven to dine—put up at D^r Stiles's¹ passed an agreeable afternoon & evening.—

2. We proceed to Weathersfield.

3. Being too much fatigued to go on, M^r Guild left & went on—Rev^d Marshs lecture Rev^d Brinsmaid of Washington preached, very cold—

4. This afternoon I proceed with Rev^d Perry to his house—more comfortable

5. Reach^d Springfield at 3 oClock, dined at D^r Williams put up at Rev^d Brecks—

6. Arrived at Brother Cutlers at dark—very tired.

Sunday 7. Preached for Rev^d Ward P. M. Job 27, 5, 6.

8. Proceeded to Rev^d Whitneys² — Northboro —

¹ Ezra Stiles, D. D., LL. D., one of the purest and most gifted men of his time. He was twice president of Yale and a warm friend of Dr. Franklin. He was intimate with our chaplain.

² Rev. Peter Whitney, minister at Northborough and author of a history of Worcester County.

9. Reached Rev^d Parsons's in company with Mes^s Gannett & Guild &c
10. This morning we moved on early to Salem, attended the ordination of Mr. Prime. — Arrived home about Sunset after 7 months & three days absence— found my dear Family in health—and thro the great goodness of God my own is much better than when I left camp—may my Gratitude ever rise in proportion to favors receiv^d.

[The above diary fills one note-book. The next note-book begins at August 1, 1780, with the life in camp at West Point. Obviously an intervening book has been lost.]

1780

August 1. Yesterday the N. York, 3^d & 4th Mass^{ts} Brigades left the Point—& marched, some to the Continental Village, others to Peek's Kill—the baggage went down by Water—Tis a late day to take the field but the activity, may make up for the shortness of the Campaign—

The other two Mass^{ts} & Connecticut moved down the evening before— His Excellency is now at Gen^l Howe's, the main Army are crossing at King's ferry—things at present wear the appearance of a vigorous push, while the British fleet & army are absent¹—

Col^l Malcom with some York Meletia came on the Point— This morning a fellow was executed as a Spy—he was taken last Saturday, tried on Sabbath day—& executed this morning.—

2. The baggage ordered back—one tent retained for twelve men—
3. The British fleet & army having returned to York, the object of the light & vigorous move ceased—viz the calling their attention from our Allies—the Army directed in Gen^l orders to recal their baggage, & re-

¹ Clinton projected an expedition to Rhode Island, but proceeded no farther than Huntington Bay, Long Island.

cross the river in order to prosecute the original plan of the campaign—the army to move over the river in Geographical order to begin early to-morrow morning— The Army once more makes a respectable appearance.

4. This morning the light Infantry began to cross at four o'clock—the Pensylvania line followed.
5. The Army continues to pass the river—last evening I received Letters from home & Rev^d Cutler by Cap^t Story—this day I went up to the point—extreme hot—

Sunday 6. This day I passed at West Point—extreme hot—the heat of yesterday & this day appears as intense as I ever knew it to be—

7. This day I spent in the regions of hospitality, at Mr Mandeville's—the heat a little abated a gentle breeze.
8. This morning I left the Friendly dwelling—to rejoin the Army,¹ which found encamped in a line at Tappond—having passed Kings ferry, thro Haverstraw & Clarkstown, a fine country well settled—this is eighteen miles from the ferry—the people appear to be home bred quite unacquainted with mankind and perfectly astonished at the magnitude of the army, tho' they passed in two or three columns— The Marquis le F'yatte² joined from Rhode Island, takes command of the light Infantry.—
9. This morning came on fine showers attended with lightning, from daylight repeated till noon.
10. I rode down to Dobbs's ferry. On the way there is a

¹ The line of march was down the west bank of the Hudson toward New Jersey.

² Marie Jean Paul Roch Yves Gilbert Motier, Marquis de Lafayette, was the romantic hero, the chivalric knight of the Revolution. Our people dearly loved him. Of the highest lineage, with an immense estate, he left his aristocratic bride and his position in the army to volunteer under Washington. Brave, devoted, generous—supplying needy troops out of his pocket—he deserved the gratitude which a nation eagerly gave him.

cavity in the side of a rocky mountain—it appears to be artificial, dug for some kind of mineral—Tis about five feet square and near a hundred feet deep—The country is a fertile soil, but the inhabitants are Dutch. a great vapour arises from this ground which makes it cool towards morning, but tis hot at midday—the land of a red colour—

Sunday 13. The shiping fired a few guns at men on the shore against us—a party ordered on fatigue under Col^o Goverung [*indistinct*] at Dobbs's ferry—the extremity of the heat prevented attending worship at midday and military exercise at Night—

18. The weather has been extreme hot near three weeks.

Sunday 20. This day at 11 °Clock we attended divine Service the fourth Brigade united with us. I Sam! 2, 3. much cooler than it has been.

21. The provisions of the meat kind fails—I rode out to see Friend Baldwin, & obtained a Dutch dinner of Spieks & apples, boiled—cool & pleasant—

22. No meat to-day again, not a pound for our Brigade. Orders this Evening to march to-morrow—the front to begin at 7 °Clock.

23. The army moved off the ground about 9 °Clock—the dust & heat induced me to leave them at the Church, & go about 2 miles up the road and tarry with Major Bass—

24. I spent the day with him, we go fishing in Hackinsack Creek—his Landlord shot a pike according to their custom in this country—very warm.

25. This morning I set for camp—joined about twelve °Clock at the English Neighborhood (not because there are English here) about ten Miles South of our last encamping ground, in the County of Bergen¹—I found the Army in a sad state as to provision—having drawn none the day they march^d nor the next till

¹ Bergen is the border county of New Jersey, lying behind the palisades. The commissariat was difficult with New York City and the river in the hands of the enemy.

night & then but a trifle, & this day at night a little more—prospects very gloomy on that account—The Light Infantry, & front line of the right wing, are down near Powles hook ¹—some firing that way—

26. This day I rode to river opposite Spikering-devil Creek & to fort Lee—saw the most of York Island, the Sound, long & Straten Islands &c—Two hundred loads of forage brought up, collected by the Enemy—several stacks burnt that could not be got away—Gen! Green Commanded the party below—a Soldier of the Pensilvania line having *ravished a farmers Daughter*, being found guilty of merauding inhabitants, was tried found guilty & executed immediately—others who had aid in otherwise abusing the people were flogged—

Sunday 27. Divine Service at 11 °Clock Rom. 13, 9, 10 the 3rd & 4th Brigades present—warm. Some firing this morning, it appeared to be at Dobbs's ferry, another duel one mortally wounded—

29. Mr. Evans & I rode to Hackensack a beautiful Village on a small river, where I found Mr. Romaine an agreeable clergyman who, tho Dutch, entertained us very hospitably—very warm—extreme dry—

September 1. A heavy firing yesterday and some this day—the Occasion not known.

2. Gen! Orders to march to-morrow morning at eight °Clock—this has been a lowry day, several small showers—it looks likely to continue—

Sunday 3. Rainy intervals all last Night & this morning—orders not to march till further orders—the rain come on heavy, wind violent at S. E. about ten A. M. continued till two P. M.—cleared off very moderate and pleasant—Mr. Barlow ² came to see me—he

¹ Now Jersey City.

² Joel Barlow, poet and author, born at Redding, Conn., graduated at Yale, 1778, was a chaplain in the army. The epic "Columbiad" did not succeed, as epics seldom have. But he was a good scholar, pure and patriotic, deserving well of posterity.

arrived in camp last Evening to take the Chaplaincy of the 4th Brigade.

4. This day the army retired by the right, the baggage in front; over the new Bridge—left the ground at Tean Neck about 9 °Clock, & encamped about two & half Miles West of the new Bridge. No meat for the Brigade this day—at Steenropia.—
5. Cold to-day for the season— News of Genl. Gates defeat before Cornwallis in South Carolina—No provision of meat to-day—
6. A small supply of beef & mutton for the Brigade—cool for the Season—a heavy shower last Night—
9. Last night departed this life of a putrid fever, Brigadier Genl. Poor,¹ whose uniform life—agreeable deportment—intrepid & determined spirit united to a placid, generous, disposition rendered him at once & equally serviceable to the public and agreeable to his Friends & acquaintance—his death is therefore very greatly lamented by them all—& perhaps no Officer of his rank in the army would receive of more general Tribute than he.

Sunday 10. Divine Service at 10 °Clock—Jer: 2, 19—after service I went to the 4th Brigade & heard Mr. Barlow preach for the first time to them, on the omnipresence of God—a very sensible, Judicious Sermon—Acts 17, 28.—

This afternoon were interred the remains of Genl. Poor—the procession began about a Mile from Hackensack Churchyard—The Brigade of Light Infantry he commanded—march in front with Arms reverst—Lees corps of Light horse followed them—a band of musick next—Mr. Evans & I preceeded the herse—Brigadier Genl. Bearers—the Officers of the N. Hampshire Brigade followed—His Excellency, the Major Genl^s succeeded—the most of the Officers of the

¹ Drake gives the cause of death, “killed in a duel with a French Officer, near Hackensack, N. J., Sept. 8, 1780.” A wasteful sacrifice of an excellent life.

Army formed a very long procession—Mr Evans delivered an Oration at the grave suitable to the solemn occasion—

11. Last Night some Waggoners were attempt to meraude a hog of an inhabitant—he, defending, his property shot the Soldier dead on the spot—
12. This Afternoon was executed at 4 o'clock, immediately after sentence—David Hall of the Pensylvania line—for robing an Inhabitant—he with three others blacked themselves & entered the House in the Night, bound the men & made the Women show them where the most valuable Articles were—they made off with their booty—but the Neighbours rallied, pursued & caught this man—& upon conviction was sentenced to suffer death—the Adj^t. Gen^l sent a request to me to attend, which I did—found the poor unhappy man somewhat affected with his case, but did not seem to be appear to be acquainted with Religion—

A shower attended with thunder.

As the poor Fellow was going to the place of Execution a number of their women came thro' the Provost to bid him farewell—one seizing him with both her hands, says—"great luck to you David."—

Anecdote— The Troops advanced near Powlers hook, were ordered to march by the Soldier who was taken from the ranks & executed on the 26th August for merauding the Inhabitants—as they passed—one of comerades slaped him on the thigh & says "well Jack you are the best off of any of us—it wont come to your turn to be hanged again this ten years."¹

13. This morning the whole Army turned out to be reviewed by a number of Indians Some Chiefs, a Committee from several Tribes in Canada—who were sent to Rhode Island to obtain the certainty of a French

¹ Evidently men who had been on very short rations about a month had a fellow-feeling for a marauder. They would bestow on him the best wit they had.

Fleet, which the Briton endeavored to keep a secret from them.

14. This day I obtain more particular Accounts of the Southern affair than before— The British were obliged to stretch themselves in single file at five feet distance in order occupy the ground opposite to our Maletia, who immediately & run precipetately casting away their guns as usual, this enabled the Enemy to consolidate & turn the left flank of our right wing, regular Troops, the conflict became severe & was tried at the point of the Bayonet fifteen minutes—"when superior bravery overpowered by superior numbers our troops were obliged to file off which they did in good order." the Enemy's Light horse pursued, about 400—which were almost entirely cut off—tis said only two or three escaped—The Baron de Kalb¹ is dead of his wounds—Governor Caswell of N. Carolina has erected a Camp at the distance of about forty Miles from the Action, has collected about 700 of our Regulars to it—in his letter to Congress he makes no mention of Gates—we lost all our heavy baggage & Artillery— No provision to-day.

Anecdote. An Officer observed that "the Reason why Gen! Gates was so fond of Maletia was because he knew that Regular Troops would lead him into fire but there was no danger of the Maletia doing it."

Sunday 17. This morning his Excellency the Marquis le Fayette & Gen! Knox set out for Hartford to confer with the Count de Rochambeau² &c—

Divine Service at 11 oClock, Mr! Baldwin preached for me, from Eccl: 12, 13, an excellent Sermon—at 5

¹ John Baron De Kalb came over in the vessel with Lafayette. He had been a brigadier-general in the French army and was made major-general in ours.

² Jean Baptiste Donatien Vimeur, Count de Rochambeau, marshal of France. As a lieutenant-general with a corps of 6000 men he landed at Rhode Island. The French coöperation was very effective at Yorktown.

- P. M. I returned the service by preaching to their Brigade Heb: 3, 12, 13.
18. Genl Green compliments his Excellency in Orders—by calling on the Army to be very alert lest the enemy should take advantage of the Commander in chiefs absence—
 19. Orders to be ready for marching—the unpromising weather prevents it to-day—
 20. This day the army moved off the ground about ten o'clock—the baggage preceded—encamped on the old ground at Orange Town—
 22. This morning a firing began at day—occasioned by a Ship & Gally laying Haverstraw Bay—our people came on Tallors point with two & a Howitzer with which they played upon them & caused them to retire.
- Sunday 24. At 10 A. M. attended divine Service Heb 3, 12, 13, heard Ml Barlow at ½ past eleven upon worshipping God in Spirit.
25. The whole Army paraded at ten o'clock in two lines and performed the manoeuvre of changing the front—
 26. Last night at 12 o'clock Orders came to us to be ready to march at six in the morning—Genl Wayne marched his Brigade about one—The occasion of this sudden move was the News of a British Officer, said an Adj! Genl, being taken on his way from West Point to a Ship below Chroton by three Inhabitants who discovered plans of the works & the state of the Garrison about him—& other papers which detected the Treasonable designs of Genl Arnold commander of that department, it seems the Post was to be given up to the Enemy this very night—as soon as he heard of the discovery he took to his Barge & was rowed on board the Ship below King's ferry—
- Extract from Genl Orders — 26¹

¹ Accounts of the treason of Arnold and of the capture of André may be found in Bancroft, V. 428, and Winsor, *America*, VI. 447. Seldom has any verdict of the time been more fully confirmed by history

"Treason of the blackest dye was yesterday discovered—Genl Arnold who commanded at West Point lost to every Sentiment of honor, of public & private obligations, was about to deliver up that important post into the hands of the enemy. Such an Event must have given the American Cause a deadly wound if not a fatal Stab—happily, the treason has been timely discovered to prevent the fatal misfortune—the providential train of circumstances which led to it, affords the most convincing proof that the liberties of America is the Object of divine protection—At the same time the Treason is to be regretted, the Genl cannot help congratulating the Army on the discovery.

Our Enemies despair of carrying their point by force, are practicing every base act to effect by bribery & corruption what they cannot accomplish in a manly way. Great honor is due to the American Army that this is the first instance of treason of the kind, where many were to be expected from the nature of the dispute—and nothing is so bright an Ornament in the character of the American Soldier as their having been proof against all the Arts of an insidious Enemy—

Arnold has made his escape to the Enemy, but Mr Andrew the Adjutant Genl of the British Army, who came out as a Spy to negotiate the Business, is our prisoner—His Excellency the Commander in Chief has arrived at West Point from Hartford, & is no

than in the case of Benedict Arnold. The only redeeming feature of his career was his bravery and splendid gallantry under fire. His treason was not only devilish, it was mean and sordid. He deliberately sold himself and with himself the opportunity which the generous confidence of Washington had given him. September 25th was to have been the day for the culmination of the plot between Arnold and Sir Henry Clinton, the details of which had been arranged by André. Major André had landed from the British vessel *Vulture*, had held his interview with Arnold, had been captured and now the chief conspirator had escaped to the vessel.

doubt taking the proper measures to unravel fully so hellish a plot."—

27. Joseph Smith¹ of Haverstraw confederate with Arnold, was taken at Fish Kill.—
28. This Evening his Excellency returned to Camp to the great Joy of the Army after twelve days absence, a longer term than he has been except in the winter since he took the important command—Mr André the British Adj^t Gen^l & Mr Smith were brought down under a proper guard.
29. A board of Gen^l Officers² set on the trial of André, Smith's refered to Court Martial.
30. Mr Andre found guilty,—to suffer as a Spy—

Sunday October 1. Divine Service at Ten Ps: 122, 6, 7, 8, heard Mr Barlow Haggai 2, 9. The Execution of Major Andre appointed at 5 °Clock P. M. one Connecticut to attend—a little before the time a flag arrived from Clinton desiring the execution to be postponed till he could send another with some proposals for saving him—the execution deffered for the present.

2. At twelve °Clock this day was Executed Major Andre³— He received his fate with greater apparent

¹ Joshua Hett Smith brought off André from the *Vulture* in a boat. A court could not decide whether he was a dupe or a willing knave.

² Greene was president, St. Clair, Lafayette of the French army, Steuben from the staff of Frederic II., Parsons, Clinton, Glover, Knox, Huntington, all sat on the board. If there was knowledge or wisdom in the American army, it was represented on that court and their decision was unanimous. Be it remembered, this was no ordinary treason in conception or execution. The coveted plunder was the citadel of American independence and Major André was adjutant-general of the British army. And yet the pity of it was beyond reason. A refugee and volunteer, the Chevalier de Pontgibaud, testifies in his memoirs that he "can certify that "when they came out of the Court-martial the faces of all our generals "showed marks of the most profound grief; the Marquis de Lafayette "had tears in his eyes."

³ The muse of history was not so clear-sighted in André's case as in Arnold's. (See Winsor, *America*, VI. 467.) Sentiment did befog

fortitude than others saw it—he appeared a most Genteel young fellow—handsomely drest in his regimentals—when he came to the Gallows, he said he well knew his fate but was disappointed in the mode—He ascended the waggon cheerfully fixed the halter round his own neck & bound his Eyes—said, smiling, a few moments would settle the whole—was asked if he had anything to offer—lifting up the handkerchief that covered his Eyes, said, Gentlemen, you will all bear witness that I met my fate like a brave man.

Behold the end of humane greatness! a young fellow cut off in the midst of the highest prospects, by the hand of a common hangman—

3. A cool N. E. Storm
4. Lowry, unpleasant weather for camp—
5. The Storm renewed—and more severe than the 3rd—
6. Fair & pleasant—Orders for marching to-morrow.—
7. The Army marched this morning at 9 o'clock—the baggage in front—the road very bad—waggons often hindered—I went forward to Paramus about a mile past the Church—dined at a Dutch Justices on Peaches & milk—it began to rain about three P. M. the wind rise N. E. which greatly increase the difficulty of passing—our Brigade baggage arrived a little

some historians and even military critics until they maintained that Washington should not have treated André as a spy, and they blamed him for injustice. Cooler judgment has gradually convinced to the contrary both English and American writers. The technical claim that André was protected by a flag is now hardly maintained by any sensible advocate. Clinton asserted that Arnold's pass and flag should cover and relieve André. Washington replied that flags must be used in good faith to justify the bunting or bearer, and that concealment of dress and papers was the action of a spy. André has been overrated by his admirers. His pluck and graceful manners, his urbanity and coolness did not change his essential nature, which was shallow. He did not seem to know just what he was about. He disobeyed instructions in several important particulars. The grace of chivalry is beautiful, but without honor there can be no grace. The spy may be and sometimes has been the greatest hero of them all. But the spy must hang.

before Sunset, the storm encreasing—The whole Park Artillery being in front of our column detained them till after ten o'Clock at Night—when the Troops arrived in fine Spirits, it greatly revived mine which had been depressed with concern for them—many Waggon's were left behind—

Sunday 8. This morning opens fair and pleasant—but the scene of yesterday determines we could have no Service.

9. This morning the Army marched at 9 o'Clock, baggage in front, to Totawaw, six miles—the march performed with ease, without any difficulty. I viewed the Pesaiaack falls—which are very curious—the water runs off into a large crevice in the rocks & falls from fifty to seventy feet—& throws up a great Spray thro which at ten A. M. we discovered a rainbow in complete circle—there are two clefts—one from one to six feet in width—the other from three Inches to a foot, each of them 70 or 80 feet deep—the sides perfectly parallel & smooth—

11. I went to see the person at Totowa Bridge, whose head is matter of great Speculation & observation—he lays in a Cradle—is about five long—has no use of any limb except one hand, the other is drawn in—from the chin to the top of his head is 14 Inches—round his over the forehead is $31\frac{1}{2}$ Inches—he speaks with some little difficulty, but appears to have common understanding—is 26 years old—was born a proper child & grew some years—but the head encreased so much faster than any other part as reach its present size—he is free from pain—& seems not unacquainted with enjoyments of animal & rational life.—

Sunday 15. Mr Barlow & I exchanged Services—Attended theirs at 11 o'Clock—Is: 57, 21—ours at 3 P. M.—when Mr Barlow delivered an excellent discourse upon the Omnipresence of God—Acts 17, 28.—He occupys all Space—Ergo—It may with more propriety be said that all things exist in God than he in them.—

16. Dined at Headquarters—
17. Gen^l. Paterson celebrated the ever memorable 17 Oct^r. 1777, by a large & generous entertainment for all his Officers—where mirth & festivity crowned the day. Cap^t. Greenleaf resigned & left Camp.
18. Mr Wescot arrived with Letters.
19. News of the Capture of 51 sail of East & West Indian—
in the Channel by the combined fleet.
- Sunday 22. Service at 3 P. M. Rom. 14, 17, fair & pleasant.
23. Heard Mr Smith make his defence—
25. I left with Lieut^t. Allen Pay M—Col^o. Marshalls Regiment, two forage accounts certified by Col^o. Biddle,¹ one of 522 the other 650 doll^s, with an order to draw the money.
26. I put into Cap^t. Porter's hand, Col^o. Tupperts Regiment, a warrant on the P. M. G. for 6325 doll^s received of him 200 doll^s to be paid to Lieut Benjⁿ Shaw—
At 10 oClock his Excellency, the Minister of France and a large retinue reviewed the Army which made a respectable appearance.
- News from the Southward by letter to Gen^l. Washington, that the back Counties of N. & S. Carolina turned out spiritedly and charged on a body of the Enemys Levies in the former—killed 135 besides wounded, took 813—1500 stand of arms—also the Georgia Maletia retook Augusta, thinly garrisoned, with a large quantity of stores &c.
27. The Sun eclipsed beginning ^{H. M. S.}_{10, 45, 51}, greatest obscuration ^{H. M. S.}_{12, 2, 53}, end at ^{H. M. S.}_{1, 27, 11}. Duration 2, 41, 21.—tho the Sun was eclipsed more than 11 digits the darkness was not great—it being cloudy, perhaps light reflected from the clouds round the horizon.—
28. Rained most of the day—a change of weather follows an eclipse of the Sun! warm for the season.
- Sunday 29. Divine Service at 3 P. M. Jn^o 7, 46. fair & pleasant.

¹ Clement Biddle of Philadelphia, colonel in the army, was an efficient officer in the commissary and quartermaster's departments.

30. This morning left camp in company with Mr Lockwood—pass^d Paramus—7 miles—to Cakaat 10½ miles, dined. go on to Kings ferry 10½ Miles—pass^d it about sun down put up at Continental Village 8 miles for fear of the Cow Boys who have infested Crumb-pond of late—
31. We pass the back way by Col^o Drakes to Salem 22 Miles—dined at Major Brushes—it began to rain hard at 3 °Clock & detained us.

November 1. This morning presents us with a severe snow storm which forbids our going on—were invited to dine at Esq^r Hunts—some appearance of an abatement of the storm enduced us to set forward in the afternoon—but it encreased much as we were passing Ridgbury which made it difficult to move ahead—after much struggling with snow, wet & cold we reached Danbury near Sunset—11 Miles—put up at Major Stars.

2. Major Star rode in his Sleigh this morning—at 11 °Clock we move on to Newton 10 Miles—Snow considerable depth on the hills—dined at Baldwins—go on to the new Bridge 4 miles—to Derby Hills 8 Miles—put up at Mr Thomlinsons—
3. Pass^d thro Derby to N. Haven 16 Miles—spent the afternoon & evening in an agreeable circle at the presidents.¹
4. This day brought us on to Weathersfield.

Sunday 5. This morning we were alarmed about 5 by the appearance of fire below stairs—turned out as soon as possible—found the setting room all in a blaze—with the vigorous application of water it was extinguished, having burnt thro an old Mantle piece & consumed the winscut over the fire place—it destroyed Mr Mashers & my hats at the farthest side of the room—attended Worship—pr^d John 7, 26, Job 27, 6.

¹ At President Stiles's.

LIST OF PROVIDENCE MILITIA-MEN, 1687.

The two documents following—a letter from William Hopkins, of Providence, to Fitz-John Winthrop, of New London, dated April 15, 1687, and a list of soldiers at Providence, prepared by Hopkins and referred to in his letter—are printed from originals recently sent to the chairman of the Committee of Publication, together with several other documents, by Mr. Robert C. Winthrop, Jr., of Boston, with intention that they should be handed over to the Historical Society or the University. They have been presented to the former. The originals were found among the Winthrop Papers. John Winthrop the third (1639-1707), commonly called Fitz-John, and subsequently governor of Connecticut, was in 1687 a member of Governor Andros's Council. As he was experienced and prominent in military affairs (he had served in the Civil War in England), Andros had on January 7, 1687, made him colonel of the militia of Rhode Island and captain of the company in Providence. (See his commission in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, 6th series, III. 477.) This early militia list, drawn up for his inspection by Captain William Hopkins, may be compared with the list of persons subject to the poll-tax, drawn up in August, 1688, and printed by Mr. Edward Field in his *Tax Lists of the Town of Providence during the Administration of Sir Edmund Andros and his Council*, pp. 37-40. The names are nearly the same.

[Endorsed: "A list of the Souldiers
at Providence.

Dated April 15th 1687.]

"for the hand of
Collonel John fits Winthrop
Lieuing at new Lundun—
These with
kare

"Prouidenc this 15th of Aparent 1687 :

"Sir after Respects to you and yours hoping these Lines may find you in Good health As wee for the Most part are through Gods prouidenc at this present, Sir J haue Sent you heere in Closed A List of the Solders beeLongin to your Company of Malisha in prouidenc, Sir J Should bee Glad to reseue A Line or tew from you for wee know not the penulty of non apearanc nor for the want of Armes,—No more at present to truble you but Rest yours to Sarue to his abillity William Hopkins:—

" Ensign Dexster	Ellixander BollCum junr
Joseph jinks iunr	Thomas walling
1 Sargant Edward Smith	Nathanel jinks
2 Sar— Joseph williams	Thomas Estin
3 Sar— Nathanell waterman	Henery Estin
4 Sar— Benjeman Carpinter	John Howkings
Cap— Andrew Edmunds	william Harinden
1 Drum John Haydun	Joseph Harinden
2 Drum william Olney	John Harinden
1 Corperel Thomas Hopkins	Thomas Harinden
2 Cor— James Angel —	Jzack Harinden
3 Cor— John Sales	Samuelli whipple
4 Cor Thomas Olney junr	Samuelli whipple junr
Clark william Randall	Thomas whipple
	John whipple junr
Nathanell mowrey	william whipple
John mowrey	Beniaman whipple
John inman	Jonathan whipple
Edard inman junr	Joseph whipple
James Belloue	John malauary
Samuelli wilkenson	Thomas Haris
Benjeman Herinden junr	Joseph Smith joyner
John pray	Thomas Arnold
Eliazur whipple	John Arnold
Dauid whipple	John Belooe
John Angel	Peter Belooe
Eliazur Arnuld	John Browne junr
John wilkensun	Epenetus Olney
Josiah wilkensun	Edward mantun
Jonathan Sprauge	John Thorntun jnr
Ephraim pearce	Thomas Thorntun
Ellixander BollCum	James Thorntun

Saloman Thorntun
 Benjamin Thorntun
 Samuel Right
 Danell Browne
 Ephraim pray
 Joseph woodward
 Danell Abbott
 John wallinge
 Thomas field junr
 Abraham man
 Gidion Croford
 Danell williams
 William Turpin
 Samuel Winsor
 Richard waterman
 Henary Browne junr
 Zachariath feild
 william Vinsent
 Silas Carpinter
 Timothy Carpinter
 Stephen Arnold junr
 Elisha Arnold
 James Blackmor
 Edward Hawkings
 Thomas ffennor
 Arthar ffennor junr
 John Boollock
 william pray
 James wallinge
 Samuel Comstok
 Abraham Hardin
 Riichard Bates
 Thomas Cooper
 Nathanell waterman junr
 James Matheson
 Thomas Haris junr
 James phillips
 Timothy Sheldin
 John Sheeldin
 Nicholas Sheeldin
 Richard Arnold junr
 william hawkings
 Richard Sayles
 Joshua Clark
 Danell jiencks

John waterman
 Richard Clamenc
 Content Clamenc
 James Brown
 william Smith
 Joseph Smith weauer
 Joseph phillips
 Richard Burding
 Cornelus Higgins
 Nathanell mowrey junr
 Joseph mowrey
 Roberd Gardener
 Richard phillips
 John matheson
 Vaillintyn Whiteman
 John blackston
 Epharim Carpenter
 Jacob Clark
 Pardon Tilinghast junr
 Richard waterman
 John Smith
 Benjeman Smith
 Richard Haris
 nichalas Haris
 Ebenezur jiencks
 Edward Smith junr
 Joseph Smith
 Chad Browen
 Joseph Burdin
 John Ster
 John Ster junr
 Joseph alldridg
 Joseph alldridg junr
 John alldridg
 Resolued waterman
 philip Tillinhast
 Judah Browen
 Joseph washborn
 william Hack
 John Daly
 James Olney
 Jsarel Smith
 John Arnold
 Thomas Smith
 William Hopkins"

MUSIC IN RHODE ISLAND, 1739.

The following letter, written from Newport in March, 1738, was presented to the Society by Governor John Brown Francis, as may be seen by his letter of May 9, 1837 (R. I. H. S. MSS., IX. 74). The writer was organist of Trinity Church, presiding over the organ which Dean Berkeley presented to it in 1733 and which it still retains. (See *New England Magazine*, September, 1899, p. 81.) Mr. Jacobi was induced to come over from England in 1736 as organist; the expenses of his voyage, £18. 15s., were paid, and he was given a salary of £25 per annum. (See Mason's *Annals of Trinity Church*, pp. 66, 67.) His correspondent, the collector at Philadelphia from 1733 to 1743, had been a churchwarden and vestryman of Christ Church in that city, which church was now in process of being enlarged, and had made provision for an organ. (Dorr's *Historical Account of Christ Church*, pp. 61-71.) The original of the letter which follows is in R. I. H. S. MSS., Vol. V., p. 70.

JOHN OWEN JACOBI TO PETER EVANS.

"Rhode Island March 18th 1738

"Sr

"I receiv'd the Favour of two Letters from you, and answer'd them both, but have not had the Pleasure of hearing from you since; for which reason I am afraid they miscarried. I then let you know, that this Place did not answer my Expectation, and that I shou'd very readily embrace the Oppurtunity of serving you and the Gentlemen of Philadelphia: and that although the disuse of Thorough Bass had made me a little defective, yet a short Time wou'd recover it. As I might expect a Number of Scholars, and that you intend to set up an Organ in your Church; I believe it wou'd be to my Advantage to be in Philadelphia. The most I shou'd be afraid of, is the Extremity of the Weather, which I hear is very extraordinary. In all other Respects I shou'd like the

Place very well, having had an agreeable Account of it from Dr. Brett,¹ who was lately there. The Want of Instruments, together with the Niggardliness of the People of this Place, and their not having a Taste for Musick, render it impossible for any one of my Profession to get a competent Maintainance here; and their Feuds and Animosities are so great concerning their Government, that a Man can take but little Satisfaction in being among them: so that it is no better than burying one's self alive. I shou'd take it as a particular Favour if you wou'd answer this by the first Oppurtunity, and am

Sr

Your most humble Servant

JN^o OWEN JACOBI."

[Addressed:] "To

Peter Evans Esq: Collector

of his Majesty's Customs in

Philadelphia in

Pennsylvania."

THE NARRAGANSETT INDIANS, 1768.

Rev. Dr. John P. Peters and Mr. W. P. Peters have recently caused to be printed, in a highly interesting volume, edited by Professor Franklin B. Dexter, of Yale University, the diary of the Rev. Dr. David McClure, who was born in Newport in 1748, and died in 1820. Dr. McClure was graduated at Yale in 1769, having formed the intention of becoming a missionary to the Indians. After a brief mission among the Delaware Indians, he was successively pastor at North Hampton, N. H., and at East Windsor, Conn. The book is privately printed, and therefore inaccessible to most readers. It has accordingly been thought proper to print here an extract relating to the condition of the Narragansett Indians in

¹ Dr. John Brett, of Newport, a German, and a graduate of the University of Leyden.

1768, which it is believed will be regarded as of considerable interest. The extract is from pages 189 to 191 of the printed book.

"In the Summer of 1768, being my third year at College, I took a ride to the Sea Shore and in company with Mr. Chester Bingham tarried a few days at Narraganset. My health at this time was slender.

"Sabbath, attended the Indian meeting, at their meeting house, which was small and about the size of a common school house. About 50 Indians were present. They were mostly elderly people. They sung, prayed and exhorted. There were 4 or 5 who exhorted. The principal speaker was called Sam! Ashpo. They were all very earnest in voice and gesture, so much so that some of them foamed at the mouth and seemed transported with a kind of enthusiasm. When they prayed, all spake audibly, some in english and some in Indian. It was indeed a confused noise. In exhorting they attempted generally to describe the christian life, and did it by giving a relation of their own religious experiences, which were mostly visions, dreams, impulses and similitudes. Agreeably to their imperfect knowledge, their ideas and language were simple and vulgar. I stood near to Ashpo, and noticed the following expressions in his prayer in confession of sins. We must allow for grossness of the style, from his imperfect knowledge. 'Lord, thou knowest what a poor vile sinner I have been; how I have been a vile drunkard, and like a beast have lain drunk in my own spue, all night at taverns and on the road; but O Lord, thou hast forgiven me my sins, for the sake of our blessed Saviour Jesus Christ, who can save the vilest sinner' &c

"One of the exhorters said, 'I have been up the North ward in the french war, and when cold weather come on orders come—Go into winter quarters. This was dreadful news, to stay there all winter in cold and hunger; but soon word come again, strike your tents and home boys home. Then was all glad, and so it is with a christian going to Heaven.'

"Another said, 'I have been to New Port and down the wharf, and seen a ship just going to sea. There friends shake hands, and cry farewell, soon the sails are up and the wind comes and she goes, and all hands huzza, (hurraw) so it is with a christian going to Heaven.'

"As a sample of their ready wit even in serious things, among other instances, after meeting passing the house of one of the speakers, standing in his door, He said to me, 'How do you like our way of worship? I replied some things are very good; but would it not be more edifying, in prayer for one to pray and the congregation to join? He replied '*that will never do. Must make 'em all pray. Plaguy apt to cheat.*'

"When in the Meeting, one of the Exhorters addressed me and my companion, and said 'this is the way that we Indians have to get to Heaven. You white people have another way. I don't know but your way will bring *you* there, but I know that our way will bring *us* there.'

"There are perhaps 50 or 60 families of these poor people, the remnant of once a numerous and warlike nation. They live miserably, in general. Are very slovenly farmers, and commonly spend the earnings of their labour of fishing and hunting, in strong drink.

"It is a pity they have not better advantages for religious instruction. A pious school master lives with them, with his family, who is supported, in part, by a Society in Massachusetts, for propogating Christian Knowledge among the Indians.

"The next day I called to see one of the chief exhorters. He had a comfortable house, a small orchard and kept a team of one yoke of Oxen and appeared the best liver among them."

GASPEE PAPERS, 1772-1773.

The following extracts and summaries are derived from the same general source as the letters of Lord Robert Manners,

printed in our last issue, the reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission of Great Britain. Those now presented are from the papers of the Earl of Dartmouth, Secretary of State for the American Department (from August, 1772), as printed by that commission in their Fourteenth Report, Appendix, Part X. They have been prepared for publication by Mr. Clarence S. Brigham. Compare the documents printed by J. R. Bartlett in his *Documentary History of the Destruction of the Gaspee* and in *R. I. Colonial Records*, VII., and those printed in the *Proceedings* of the Society for 1890-91, pp. 80-92. Although unfortunately only the gist of each letter is given, yet even this material furnishes much new light on the detailed procedure of the Crown officers concerning the act.

I. THE EARL OF HILLSBOROUGH TO THE GOVERNOR AND COMPANY OF RHODE ISLAND.

"1772, August 7. Whitehall.—Expressing His Majesty's displeasure at the tone of menace and insult assumed in Governor Wanton's letters to Lieutenant Dudingston of the 22 and 23 March last. They are to exert themselves most actively for the discovery of the offenders with regard to the burning of the *Gaspee* schooner. Instructions will be sent to Rear-Admiral Montagu. Encloses an Act for the preservation of His Majesty's dockyards. Remarks upon complaints made by Governor Wanton of the conduct of His Majesty's officers."

(3½ pages. This letter is endorsed with the following note: "His Majesty having directed on the 21st August that the Papers relative to the disturbances in Rhode Island should be laid before the Privy Council, this letter, which had been sent to the Admiralty to forward, was recalled and cancelled." Governor Wanton's letters of March 22 and 23 are printed in the *R. I. Colonial Records*, VII. 61-62. The Earl of Hillsborough was at this time President of the Board of Trade and Secretary of State for the American Department, and was one of the most determined opponents to conciliation with America.)

2. EDWARD THURLOW AND ALEXANDER WEDDERBURN TO THE
EARL OF HILLSBOROUGH.

"1772, August 10. Lincoln's Inn.—Their opinion and report upon the burning of the *Gaspee* schooner in Providence river, Rhode Island." (Letter signed. $2\frac{3}{4}$ pages. It is endorsed as the "Report of the Attorney and Solicitor General." Both were afterward Lords Chancellors,—Lord Thurlow and Lord Loughborough.)

3. CABINET MINUTES.

"1772, August 20. St. James's.—Agreed, that all the papers on the affair of the *Gaspee* schooner be laid before the King. That a commission be issued to take proceedings for the discovery of the perpetrators of the outrage committed in the attack upon that vessel, and that letters from Hillsborough to the Governor and Company of Rhode Island, to the Lords of the Admiralty, Admiral Montagu, and General Gage, upon this subject, should be recalled and cancelled." (Copy. $2\frac{1}{4}$ folio pages.)

4. ORDER IN COUNCIL.

"1772, August 21. St. James.—Directing the Attorney and Solicitor General to prepare the Draft of a Commission of inquiry in Rhode Island; and also Draft of a Proclamation." (Copy. $2\frac{1}{3}$ folio pages.)

5. ORDER IN COUNCIL.

"1772, August 26. St. James.—The King approves of the commission of inquiry and the proclamation to be issued for apprehending the persons concerned in the burning of the *Gaspee* schooner. General Gage and Admiral Montagu to give all assistance possible in this affair." (Original, signed by Stephen Cottrell, clerk of the Privy Council. $4\frac{1}{2}$ folio pages.)

6. JOHN POWNALL TO [LORD DARTMOUTH].

"1772, August 27. Whitehall.—Sends all the dispatches relative to the Rhode Island business requiring his Lordship's

signature, also draft of the instructions proposed to attend the Commission of Inquiry. Will send papers on other matters to-morrow. Hopes none will be of sufficient importance to bring him to town. Encloses copy of letter just received from Admiral Montagu." (Autograph letter signed. 2½ quarto pages. Lord Dartmouth had recently been appointed President of the Board of Trade. Pownall was Secretary to that Board.)

7. REPORT OF THURLOW AND WEDDERBURN TO THE KING.

"1772, August 28. Have taken into their consideration the several papers relative to the burning of the *Gaspee* schooner, and prepared the draft of a Commission to inquire into the circumstances attending it, and a proclamation for the said affair." (Copy. 3½ folio pages.)

8. JOHN POWNALL TO [LORD DARTMOUTH].

"1772, August 29, Saturday evening.—The *Gaspee* business is of such importance, both in itself and in the consequences it may have, that if Lord Dartmouth has any difficulty with the papers, he hopes he will come to town before the dispatches leave the office, as there will be sufficient time to allow of that. The Attorney General considers this business of 'five times the magnitude of the Stamp Act.'" (Autograph letter signed. 5 quarto pages.)

9. [LORD DARTMOUTH] TO THE GOVERNOR AND COMPANY OF RHODE ISLAND.

"1772, August. Whitehall.—Transmits copy of the Attorney and Solicitor General's report upon the burning of the *Gaspee* schooner. Instructions for their proceeding in this matter. His Majesty's opinion of the case. He expects all persons within the colony to exert themselves in order to bring the offenders to justice." (1½ pages.)

10. JOHN POWNALL TO LORD DARTMOUTH.

"1772, September 3, at midnight.—Sends with some enclosed letters the Instructions for the Commissioners

appointed to investigate the *Gaspee* affair. Remarks on them." (Autograph letter signed. 2 quarto pages. The Instructions for the Commissioners are printed in the *R. I. Colonial Records*, VII. 110.)

II. LORD DARTMOUTH TO GOVERNOR JOSEPH WANTON.

"1772, September 4. Whitehall.—No. 1. Containing the King's directions to inquire into the circumstances attending the outrage on the *Gaspee* schooner." (Draft. 9¾ pages.)

12. JOHN POWNALL TO LORD DARTMOUTH.

"1772, September 6. Sunday Evening ½ past nine.—The dispatches on the *Gaspee* business are about to be sent off. As this affair has been misrepresented in the newspapers, he has suggested to Mr. Eden that a notification of the Commission and the Proclamation should be there made." (Autograph letter signed. 2½ quarto pages. The Mr. Eden mentioned was William Eden, afterward Lord Auckland, the eminent diplomatist, who in 1778 was appointed one of five commissioners to settle the troubles in America. At this time he was under-secretary of state.)

13. WILLIAM KNOX TO [LORD DARTMOUTH].

"1772, September 8. Whitehall.—Apologizes for omitting to send two papers on the *Gaspee* affair. Encloses one, the other will follow." (Autograph letter signed. 1⅔ quarto pages. William Knox was constantly in favor of conciliation with the colonies. As under-secretary of state for America at this period, he had considerable influence.)

14. THOMAS WOOLDRIDGE TO LORD DARTMOUTH.

"1773, January 4. New York.—Relates information he has gained respecting the apprehensions of the judiciary of this country as to what may be the result of the execution of a commission to examine into the affair of the *Gaspee* schooner." (Autograph letter signed. 4 quarto pages. Thomas Wooldridge was an officer of the Crown in New York and later in East Florida.)

15. CHIEF JUSTICE FREDERICK SMYTH TO LORD DARTMOUTH.

"1773, February 8. New York.—Containing his remarks and observations in connection with the execution of the commission for inquiring into the circumstances of the burning of the *Gaspee* schooner." (Copy. 7½ pages. Frederick Smyth was Chief Justice of New Jersey and one of the five commissioners appointed by the King to investigate the *Gaspee* affair.)

16. CHARLES DUDLEY TO [MR. REEVE].

"1773, January 19.—Prophesies the failure of the inquiry into the burning of the *Gaspee* schooner. The offenders are not only safe from detection but ridicule the measures taken to punish them. Encloses cuttings. It will hardly be credited that so much information as to these matters appeared in print before the commission was opened. 'Did Lord Dartmouth expect his secret letter to be given to the public in a newspaper?' Is persuaded no person will be apprehended while the powers of government remain in the present hands or while a man of Gov. Wanton's cast sits at the Board of inquiry." (Extract. 3¾ pages. Enclosed are three newspaper cuttings concerning the *Gaspee* affair. Charles Dudley was Collector of Customs for Rhode Island, and sent this letter to Richard Reeve, who apparently had charge of the American customs in England. See Dudley's letter in *Proceedings*, 1890-91, pp. 84, 85.)

17. CAPTAIN ANDREW SNAPE HAMOND TO [HANS STANLEY].

"1773, January 25. On *Arethusa* at Rhode Island. Relative to the execution of the Commission of Inquiry into the riot at Rhode Island." (Copy. 5¾ pages. Captain Hamond, of the Royal Navy, commander of the *Arethusa*, was knighted later and made a baronet. Hans Stanley was a prominent politician of the period, and at this time was cofferer of the royal household.)

18. REV. WILLIAM GORDON TO LORD DARTMOUTH.

"1773, June 16. Jamaica Plain.—Present sentiments of the

Americans concerning his Lordship. Congratulates him on having escaped the difficulties that must have followed had a discovery been made by the court of inquiry at Rhode Island of any concerned in the business of the *Gaspee*, and had any attempt been made to take the accused to Great Britain for trial. Such an event would have 'set the continent into a fresh flame,' especially since the Act of Parliament making it death to destroy any of the King's ships, stores, etc. and authorizing the trial in Great Britain. 'The affair of the Judges, the court of inquiry, and the act, have led the house of burgesses in Virginia to set on foot committees of correspondence through the several colonies. . . . All open attempts from home to put a stop to them will only convince the country of their importance. . . . and hasten a kind of congress.'" (Autograph letter signed. 1 page. William Gordon, a dissenting minister of England, removed to America in 1770 on account of his political sympathies. He became pastor at Roxbury, Massachusetts, and later at Jamaica Plain, and wrote a well-known history of the Revolution.)

BATTLE OF LAKE ERIE, 1813.

The following letter is bound in a volume of the diary of Dr. Usher Parsons possessed by the Society, and, it is believed, has never before been printed. It was written twelve days after the battle of Lake Erie, by Dr. Parsons, then surgeon on the flag-ship *Lawrence*. Although Dr. Parsons at a later time laid before the Society a complete statement of his recollections, in his *Battle of Lake Erie; A Discourse*, etc., (Providence, 1853,) it is believed that an especial value will be thought to attach to what he wrote to his parents when his memory of the famous battle was at its freshest. Upon the bitterly disputed question of the conduct of Elliott in the *Niagara*,¹ it will be seen that his view in 1813 was the same

¹ See Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History*, VII. 432, 433; Henry Adams, *History of the United States*, VII. 121-127; Lounsbury, *James Fenimore Cooper*, p. 208-227.

which he expressed in 1853. We append an extract from Dr. Parsons's diary, in the volume mentioned, relating to the same day. Tristram Burges printed most of it in his *Battle of Lake Erie*, p. 84, but without saying that it came from Parsons. He says that it is a portion of the log-book of the *Lawrence*, which disappeared soon after Perry left the fleet and Elliott took command of it; "the following transcript of it was made by an officer of the *Lawrence* into his own private diary, on the day after the battle." It is here printed in a more complete and correct form than that given by Burges.

"Dear Parents

{ "Off Lower Sandusky, near
Put In Bay, and near the
head of Lake Erie on board
Brig Lawrence Sep^r 22^d 1813

"Before the arrival of this an account of our victorious engagement with the British squadron on this lake will reach you. I can only add a few particulars. Most of the action was supported by this vessel as you will be led to suppose when informed that out of 150 men (our ships crew) 31 of whom were sick previous to the action we had rising 80 killed and wounded, among whom were nearly all our officers save the intrepid commander. On board all the others were about 30 killed and wounded. This vessel supported a destructive fire from the enemy's two ships on one side and a brig astern raking us for two hours, all within musket shot, during which we so disabled the ships that when the Commodore left this vessel to bring another into her assistance he succeeded in 15 minuits in making all three strike. It may seem misterious to one how some of the other vessels could see us slaughtered in such a manner but it is equally so to us. Nor can the commanders of some of them offer satisfactory reasons, for remaining behind. Unfortunately for the wounded the two Surgeons had been confined for some days with fever and could render them but little assistance. It however has operated in my favour, as I have had all the amputating to perform and it affords me the greatest pleasure to reflect that in no case have I failed of the best success, this has impressed

the Commodore with so favourable an opinion toward me that I have not the least doubt of his rendering me assistance to a better situation. He is the first *warm* friend I have met with in the service *capable* of assisting me. I am now on my way in the *Lawrence* for *Erie* having all the sick and wounded on board and shall continue with them in the hospital 'til the most of them recover, and then intend to shape my course for *Cape Home*. Gen. Harrison was on board the *Lawrence* this morning, and his army was on an Island within half amile of the vessel, consisting of about 7000. Tomorrow they cross to *Malden* a distance of about 18 miles. Since the loss of the British fleet the Indians have deserted *Detroit* after burning the place and (as is reported) massacring the inhabitants. I had some narrow escapes for my life during the action five cannon balls passed through the room in which I was attending to the wounded. Two that I had dressed and laid aside were afterwards killed during the action. The enemys squadron mounted more guns than ours and carried at least one fourth more men. In the course of a year I hope to obtain a little prizemoney. I have enjoyed very bad health during this cruise and am reduced to a skeleton, and will never cross this or any other Lake again.

"I have lately recieved a letter from Dr. A. Hall jr and one from Charlotte Parsons, dated August 28th

"Remember me to enquiring friends.

"Your affectionate son USHER PARSONS"

"Sam^l is steady and well."

[Addressed :] "W^m Parsons Esquire

"Alfred (Me)"

"Friday September 10th Put-in bay.

"At 5 Oclock a. m. discovered the enemy's squadron bearing N. W. Wind S. W. at 7. could see all of the vessels viz. 2 ships 2 brigs 1 schooner and 1 sloop. At 10 called all hands to quarters. At $\frac{1}{4}$ before Meridⁿ the enemy commenced the action at 1 mile distance. In $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour we came within musket shot of the enemy's new ship *Detroit*. At this time they opened a most destructive fire on the *Lawrence* from their

whole squadron. At $\frac{1}{2}$ past one so entirely disabled we could work the brig no longer. At 2 P. M. most of the guns were dismantled breachings gone or carriages knocked to pieces. At $\frac{1}{2}$ past 2 when not another gun could be worked or fired from the Lawrence, Cap^t Perry hauled down the fighting flag which bore this motto *Dont give up the ship* and repaired on board the Niagara, and there raised it again. In ten minuits after we struck to the enemy. Cap^t Perry made all sail with the Niagara which hitherto had kept out of the action and in 15 minuits passed in among the B. squadron, having the Detroit, Queen Charlotte and Lady Prevot on the starboard side and the Hunter on the larboard side and silenced them all and 10 minuits before 3 they hauled down their colours. Two small vessels attempted to escape but being overhauled struck a few minuits after three. Killed on board the Lawrence, Lueut. John Brook,¹ Midⁿ Henry Laub, James W. Allen, Jos. Kennedy, John C. Kelly, John Smith, W^m Cranson, Andrew Michael, John Hoffinan, Charles Pohig,² Nelson Peters, James Jones, John Rose James Carty, Thos. Butler Wilson Mays Christian Mayo, Charles Johnes, Eatheldras³ Sykes, and 3 others."

NOTES.

As a frontispiece to this number of the *Publications*, we insert a portrait of the late Hon. Amos Perry, for many years Secretary and Librarian of the Society. We feel sure that it will be welcomed by all who appreciate the faithful services he rendered, his extraordinary devotion to the Society, and his sturdy and genial character.

Our associate, the Rev. Dr. Daniel Goodwin, in his edition of Dr. James MacSparran's *Letter-Book and Record of Out-Services written during the Years 1743-1751*, has made to local Rhode Island history a contribution of singular interest

¹ Properly *Brooks*; a lieutenant of marines, son of General John Brooks, afterward governor of Massachusetts.

² A Narragansett Indian.

³ "Ethelred," in the list in *American State Papers*, XIV. 295.

and charm. The manuscript was discovered in 1868 in the garret of President Alexis Caswell, and is now the property of the Convention of the Diocese of Rhode Island. The printed book (pp. xlv, 197) is manufactured by Mr. Daniel Berkeley Updike at the Merrymount Press, Boston, and is a beautiful specimen of book-making. Portraits of Dr. and Mrs. MacSparran, after the paintings by Smibert, are inserted. The scope of the text (which fills but 67 pages) is greater than the title would indicate. It is practically a diary, which, though fragmentary (1743-1745, 1751), gives not only a record of the public and professional activity of a very able and laborious parish clergyman and missionary, but an adequate notion of Dr. MacSparran's private existence and many interesting glimpses of social life in Narragansett in the middle of the last century. Dr. Goodwin, himself formerly a rector of St. Paul's Parish, has edited the book with a gentle and affectionate hand. He has supplied an introductory account of the writer, and a multitude of annotations illustrating, with minute elaboration, the annals of the parish and the personal and local details of the record; and all written in a style whose old-fashioned grace suits well the subject and the external appearance of the volume.

Miss Gertrude S. Kimball, who in 1896 printed a small monograph on *The East India Trade of Providence, 1787-1807*, has just published (Preston and Rounds, pp. 176) an interesting book entitled *Pictures of Rhode Island in the Past, 1642-1833, by Travellers and Others*. The volume consists chiefly of extracts out of old books, from Thomas Lechford's *Plain Dealing* down to Thomas Hamilton's *Men and Manners*, in which there are descriptions of Rhode Island, or of Providence, or of Newport, as they appeared in former times. Miss Kimball has collected more than sixty such notices, all well worth printing, and surprisingly varied in character. She shows Rhode Island as it appeared to natives and strangers, Frenchmen, Englishmen and Scotchmen, Yankees and Southerners, Puritans and Quakers, priests and soldiers, royal officials and private travellers. To name but a few of the

"foreigners," we have here the impressions of observers as various and as competent as Lord Bellomont, Madam Sarah Knight, Dean Berkeley, Chief-Justice Horsmanden, Brissot and La Rochefoucauld, Josiah Quincy and President Dwight; and there are many Rhode Islanders. An especially interesting group is that of the French officers of the Revolutionary War. To each extract Miss Kimball has prefixed a brief introduction, executed in a scholarly manner and pleasantly written, containing an account of the writer sufficient to enable one to perceive his point of view. The book is handsomely made and is well adapted to entertain and instruct all those who are interested in the history of Rhode Island.

Mr. Amasa M. Eaton's paper on *Constitution-Making in Rhode Island*, though primarily a legal and political argument, contains also a considerable amount of history. In arguing the right of the majority to make a new constitution for the state, Mr. Eaton makes a historical examination of the original compacts and charters of the colony. At a later point he examines historically the relations between the functions of the Rhode Island judiciary and those of the General Assembly. Thirdly, arguing in favor of a strict maintenance of the rights of local self-government constantly possessed by the Rhode Island towns, he enters at some length into the history of their origin and powers, incidentally discussing the history of county organization and a variety of other points in the constitutional history of the state. Mr. Eaton's paper, which is a pamphlet of 128 pages, received in the *Nation* of October 5 a notice of some length, to which Mr. Eaton replied in the *Nation* of October 19.

Our associate, Mr. John O. Austin, has produced a book of unusual plan, which, if not precisely history, will be of much interest to all students of history in Rhode Island. Under the title, *The Journal of William Jefferay, Gentleman*, he composes a diary such as might have been written by that person. Jefferay is an actual personage, whose grave-stone may be seen in the old cemetery at Newport. Around his personality Mr. Austin has grouped, in a natural manner, a varied mass of in-

formation, historical and genealogical, so that the entries in the journal present a lifelike picture of existence in Rhode Island from 1623 to 1675. The book is published by the author himself.

Hon. Oscar S. Straus, LL. D., United States Minister to Turkey, author of a highly esteemed book on Roger Williams, discovered upon a recent visit to the Charterhouse, in London, that, among the memorials of old "Carthusians" that adorn its walls, there was none to Roger Williams. That so eminent a son of that ancient school might not be left without commemoration, Mr. Straus sought and obtained permission of the Master of the Charterhouse to place upon the walls of the school a memorial tablet. This has been executed after a design by an eminent London architect, and bears the following inscription:

IN MEMORY OF
ROGER WILLIAMS
FORMERLY A SCHOLAR OF CHARTERHOUSE 1624
FOUNDER OF THE STATE OF RHODE ISLAND AND
THE PIONEER OF RELIGIOUS LIBERTY IN AMERICA.

PLACED HERE BY OSCAR S. STRAUS
UNITED STATES MINISTER TO TURKEY, 1899.

We feel that all the members of the Society, and indeed all patriotic citizens of Rhode Island, will be grateful to Mr. Straus for his public-spirited and appropriate action.

In the *Providence Sunday Journal* for October 15, 1899, Mr. Clarence S. Brigham has a careful paper on "Washington's Visits to Providence," showing when and how Providence entertained him, and in what places he lodged upon those occasions.

In the *New England Magazine*, September, 1899, there is an interesting illustrated article upon Dean Berkeley in New England, by C. R. Thurston.

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